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THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE OF REGINALD POLE.

In TWO VOLUMES.

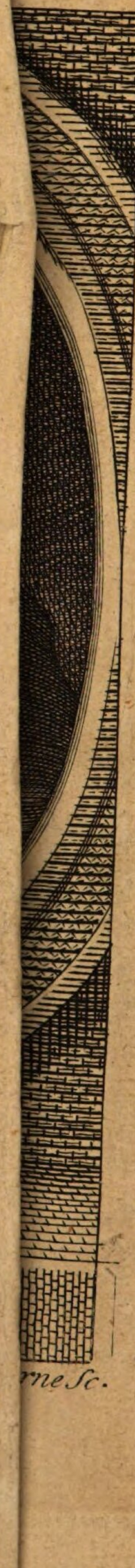
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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

LIFE

OF

REGINALD POLE.

In TWO VOLUMES.

VOL I.

By THOMAS PHILLIPS.

Omnino fortis animus et magnus duabus rebus maximè cernitur; quarum una in rerum externarum despicientiâ ponitur; cùm persuasum sit, nil Hominem, nisi quod honestum decorumque sit, aut admirari, aut optare, aut expetere oportere: nullique neque homini, neque perturbationi animi, nec fortunæ succumbere. Altera est res, ut, cùm ita sis affectus animo, res geras magnas illas quidem et maximè utiles, sed et vehementer arduas, plenasque laborum et periculorum.

CICERO de Officiis, lib. i.

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PREFACE.

THE Performance which is here offered to the Public, is not a Hiſtory of the Times in which the great Perſon lived, who is the ſubject of it, any further than he was immediately concerned in the Tranſactions of them. Had this been the Author's deſign, his Plan would belong to general Hiſtory, not Biography. Beſides, this ſubject has been treated by ſo many hands, and in ſo many different manners, that little new or entertaining could be expected from him on that head. — Nor is the Reader to look for the characters and actions of great men, who were cotemporary with the CARDINAL, but as they ſerve to make known and elucidate his.—The Author's deſign is to place CARDINAL POLE in a true, diſtinct, and conſpicuous light, and ſhew his whole conduct to have been one uniform ſyſtem of the moſt exalted, and, at the ſame time, the moſt amiable Virtues, which can

adorn a man of Letters, a Patriot, a Chriſtian, and a Prelate. This deſign could not have been executed, had he run into digreſſions on Times and Perſons, with which He, who is the ſubject of the Work, had little more relation, than of being born in the former, and having lived with the latter. Such wanderings muſt often have made him loſe ſight of what both he and the Reader ſhould always have in view; and broken an attention which ſhould be collected and fixed.—His intention, therefore, is to put down only what his ſubject leads him to; not every thing he could draw to it.

THE Revival, indeed, of Letters, which were ſo great an Ornament to the CARDINAL's Character; the Revolutions of Religion in his Country, under *Henry*, *Edward*, and *Mary*, in whoſe reigns he lived, and whoſe tranſactions were, in ſome meaſure, either the ſpring of his own conduct, or the effect of it; the General Council of *Trent*, at which he preſided, make theſe great Events a part of His Hiſtory, no leſs than of that of the times. And a Writer muſt congratulate himſelf, that his Plan neceſſarily takes in a variety of Relations, which, conſidered in themſelves, are highly de-

ſerving

ſerving the accurate ſurvey of a curious Obſerver; whilſt, as Ornaments and occaſional Proſpects, they give his principal Figure all the advantage that can be derived from the vicinity of ſuch Objects. If the Figure ſeems any where to be held off, it has only been to avoid ſatiety.

GREAT Characters, indeed, are apt to raiſe us to a ſtrain, which ſobriety of thought cannot always approve: but when we write on them, this effect is ſtill more viſible; and the ſtrength of the impreſſion we ourſelves feel, eaſily perſuades us we ſhall be able to draw our Readers within the ſame *Vortex*.—When the Author undertook this Work, he laboured under the oppoſite prepoſſeſſion, and ſaw the difficulty of reconciling an Engliſh Reader to a Hiſtory, which, on many accounts, muſt be a cenſure of things and perſons, to which he has been uſed to give his approbation; and a juſtification of what he has been accuſtomed to condemn.—What encouraged him, was a conſciouſneſs that he had a greater reſpect for the Public, than Writers often have for themſelves: and that he had ſacrificed much of his own way of thinking for its ſake, by ſuppreſſing not only many things

which might be liable to raiſe diſpleaſure; but many, where his claim to approbation, or, at leaſt, to indulgence, appeared very juſtifiable. However, ſhould any prejudices, notwithſtanding this caution to remove them, ſtill remain, thoſe who are biaſſed by them, are deſired to ſtep two hundred years back into the manners, religion, and policy of the Perſons they either approve or find fault with; and conſider the circumſtances, out of which their reſpective characters riſe, and which form themſelves about them. To act otherwiſe, is like trying a Man by the *Foreſt* Laws, who had lived under thoſe of the *Confeſſor*; or deciding of the beauty and proportion of the human body, from the ſhadow it happens to caſt in ſuch or ſuch a poſition: And to ſatisfy a Reader either unwilling or incapable of judging of men and actions by an impartial and univerſal ſtandard, is not in the nature of this undertaking.

But the ſubject has difficulties of another kind to ſtruggle with, as being, for the moſt part, relative to concerns in which this Age thinks itſelf little intereſted; and may, perhaps, not ſeem buſy enough to furniſh any thing above a Scene in Still Life. However, on a

nearer

nearer ſurvey, it will be found, that there is ſufficient Action to animate the Canvas, provided the Pencil be equal to it. For though CARDINAL POLE's life may not always be ſupplied with that variety and elevation, which great Exploits, and the opportunity of exerting ſuperior Abilities afford; yet this Denial, as it was owing to a true Greatneſs of Soul, which placed him above all unbecoming views, and the purſuit of glory at the expence of duty; and was, moreover, tried by every inſtance of adverſe fortune, is ſo far from ſinking, that it raiſes his Character; and makes Him, as *Plato* has obſerved, a Spectacle the moſt worthy the Supreme Being of any beneath the Seats of Bliſs.

IT may ſeem ſomething extraordinary, that ſo eminent a Perſon, who was not only an ornament to his Country, but an honour to Human Nature, ſhould, hitherto, have received ſo little juſtice in the Engliſh language, and that the beſt accounts of him have been tranſmitted to us by Foreigners.—*Becatelli*, an Italian, who had been his Secretary, and was, afterwards, Archbiſhop of *Raguſa*, wrote his life. It is a ſuccinct and elegant performance, and was tranſlated into Latin, by *Dudithius*, another

another of the CARDINAL's Domeſtics, and who likewiſe was, afterwards, Biſhop of *Tune*; and into French, by *Maucroix*. The Latin tranſlation is, at leaſt, equal to the Original; and the Majeſty of that language ſeems more ſuited to the manly character of a native of *Britain* than the ſoft elegance of the Italian. But as each of theſe Likeneſſes, however juſt and beautiful, is brought within the compaſs of a few ſheets, it appears to a great diſadvantage, without a baſe to raiſe it to a proper Attitude; or an area, where, beſides the full proſpect, it may be examined in ſeveral unexpected appearances, and ſide views, and become to the Obſerver's eye, what the Poet ſays of the ſource of light, *aliuſque et idem*. To theſe Accounts may be added that of one of the beſt Judges of men and manners a Nation famous for ſagacity ever produced, *Gratiani*, the learned and eloquent Biſhop of *Amelia*, who was cotemporary with our Countryman, and has given his character in a relation "of the various fortune of great Men *."—*Paul Manutius*, a Venetian Printer, at a time when the Public was as much indebted to that ſet of Men for their own productions, as for publiſhing thoſe of others, drew,

* De Caſibus Virorum Illuſtrium.

likewiſe,

likewise, the outlines of his Character, in a most finished Epistle to Pope *Pius* IV. which is prefixed to one of his Works.—The most distinguished Writers of the age, and it was the *Medicean*, in which *Italy* saw true genius revive, valued themselves on nothing more than his friendship: and however divided in opinion on other matters, unanimously agree in acknowledging the superiority of his merit.—From these chiefly *William Joyner* collected his short Memoirs, and being great Uncle to the Author, has made the subject descend to him by a kind of inheritance.—Several particulars relating to the CARDINAL's public transactions have been preserved amongst our own Records; to all of which access has been had, and on these authorities whatever is here related, rests.

THE Author might have trifled very learnedly with the misrepresentations of Writers of some note, to which the course of this work has led him; but he has contented himself with relating plain matter of fact, and producing his vouchers for what he advances; rather than take up his own and his Reader's time with, first, relating, and, then, refuting what is contrary to it. He writes a History, not a Controversy; and the province of the former is to

Parker, Strype, Burnet, Fr. Paolo.

represent

represent what *has*, not what is *said* to have been, but *never was*. This latter method of lengthening out History, is like that of a Guide, who being to inform a Traveller of his way, should enumerate the roads He was *to avoid*, and, at last, come to that he was *to take*: whereas the more satisfactory and expeditious information would be, to begin where he ended, and omit a Preamble which took up the Inquirer's time without advancing him on his journey.

BUT as the Epistolary intercourse of a great man, especially if it be considerable, and carry, through a multiplicity of matter, the same genuine marks of sincerity, is the truest copy of himself, it has been a privilege reserved to our times, and for which every *Englishman* owes his gratitude to the Editor's memory, to see a large and complete Collection of CARDINAL POLE's Letters*.

THESE

* These were published at *Brescia*, by the care of Cardinal *Quirini*, in 1754; the collection likewise contains CARDINAL POLE's Apology to *Charles* the Fifth, and to the *English* Parliament; and a third to *Edward* the Sixth, in form of a letter; all which are frequently referred to in the following Work.

They were procured for the Author by Mr. *Alban Butler*, to whom the Public is indebted for the most useful

These not only diſcover his ſentiments and feelings on the moſt important events of human life, but inform us of numberleſs facts and circumſtances, in which the Writer, and thoſe who ſtood in various relations with him, are concerned; and of which *no other documents* are extant. The ſame may be ſaid of a conſiderable treatiſe addreſſed to *Charles* V. under the title of *Apology*, which takes in the moſt intereſting tranſactions of *Henry* the Eighth's reign, and makes that Prince be known from Actions, of which the Writer might juſtly ſay,

— — *Quæque ipſe miſerrima vidi,*
Et quorum pars magna fui.

These Memoirs, the faithful Meſſengers of His heart, afford an opportunity, which hitherto had been wanting, of making the moſt intimate acquaintance with him, and knowing him from himſelf. And they ſhew his character to have

uſeful and valuable work, which has appeared in our language, *on the Lives of the Saints*, and which has been ſo much eſteemed in *France*, that it is now tranſlating into the language of a Country, celebrated for Biography, with large additions by the Author. This Gentleman's readineſs to aſſiſt the Author in this Undertaking was anſwerable to his extenſive knowledge, and general acquaintance with whatever has any relation to Erudition; and has, therefore, the beſt claim to this acknowledgment.

had

had a peculiar reſemblance with that of the Country, which gave him birth: piety and zeal in his Maker's cauſe, for which this Nation has been ſo juſtly celebrated; ſimplicity of mind and manners joined to elevation of genius, and conſummate knowledge; magnanimity and freedom of ſpeech and ſentiment; humanity and diſintereſtedneſs; modeſt worth, void of vanity and oſtentation, and all the milder merit of the heart, which are deſervedly attributed to the *Engliſh*, diſtinguiſh Him.—Theſe National Characteriſtics were ſtampt on his Countenance, which was open and ingenuous; and let themſelves down even to his Table, which was ſuch as became ancient *Engliſh* Hoſpitality, his own high ſtation, and the number of noble and illuſtrious Gueſts, who, every where, reſorted to him.

The abovementioned qualities reſpectively ſhine in his public employments; in his domeſtic life; with his friends; and in his retirements: and are all heightened by the luſtre of Royal extraction, and the moſt excellent endowments both natural and acquired.

His Life has, moreover, this ſpecial claim to the favour and attention of an *Engliſh* Reader,

as the reign, in which the latter, and more public part of it, was tranſacted, is one of the moſt intereſting Epochs of our Nation and Hiſtory; and he, as a Stateſman, the moſt conſpicuous Perſonage of that Epoch.

It has been already obſerved, that the Subject was new, not having been attempted by any one before in our language; and the accounts of *Becatelli*, and his Tranſlator, as muſt appear to every one who has read them, contain only the heads of things, a few judicious and elegant Sketches of a larger draught; and leave the more important and greater part to be filled up. —But, beſides the recommendation of Novelty, this ſingle ſubject is ſtored with as much variety, entertainment, and inſtruction, as any that Biography furniſhes. To ſay nothing of the main deſign: *Henry* the Eighth's divorce from his Queen; his breach with the See of *Rome*; the total change of Religion in his Succeſſor's reign; the return to the ancient worſhip under Queen *Mary*; the Revival of letters; the Council of *Trent*, as has been remarked in the beginning of this Preface, are Incidents which offered themſelves to the Writer in the ſame important view in which he hopes the Reader will conſider them. To theſe I muſt add the

In-

Inſtances of exemplary Virtue, and its Oppoſite, in high Life, and in both Sexes, with which this Date abounds, and furniſhes thoſe leſſons of which an Author ſhould never loſe ſight. The ſame may be ſaid of the revolutions which the fortunes of particular Perſons underwent in times when the Civil ſtate of the Nation had as little conſiſtency as the Religious.

THE Hiſtory of CARDINAL POLE's life proceeds from one of theſe Incidents to another, with ſuch eaſy tranſitions, that they all contribute to the principal purpoſe of the Work, to make his Character more compleat, and ſhew it to greater advantage. They are interwoven with his Story, and there would be a Chaſm, if any of them were omitted. They have, moreover, this favourable circumſtance, not only to riſe out of the ſubject, but to beautify and enliven it with ſo many pleaſing or inſtructive Scenes, which relieve the Reader, at the ſame time that they allow the Author to look round him, and embelliſh the Spot he undertook to cultivate, by letting in an extenſive and delightful Neighbourhood.—The Advantages of the Subject only are here dwelt on: how far juſtice has been done to it, the judicious Reader muſt determine.

THE Author looks on it as a very desirable circumstance, that, at a time, when the British Nation has the lead in the Affairs of *Europe*; and the most finished History that has yet appeared, of a people, to whom the spirit of liberty, and the valour of his Countrymen give an affinity which is but ill expressed by so distant a word as *resemblance*, has been published; he, likewise, should have offered to the perusal of the Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdom, the Life of REGINALD POLE.—They will not be displeased, it may be presumed, to behold, in so eminent a Person, several of those qualities, which distinguish many of them: nor think it a disparagement to be referred to an Original, recommended by every advantage which can give dignity to all that is great and good.—Some among them have the honour of deriving an affinity to him by blood *; and every one is entitled to that more noble and desirable relation, an alliance to his Virtues.

* His Grace the Duke of *Beaufort*; the Earls of *Huntingdon*, *Lincoln*, *Northampton*, and *Chesterfield*: the Lords *Arundel* of *Wardour*, and *Petre* of *Writtle*; &c. and the respective Branches of these illustrious Families.

WITH theſe diſpoſitions they are requeſted to read the Hiſtory of his Life; and could the Author flatter himſelf that the Performance was equal to the Undertaking, he makes no doubt but they would diſcover in it, not only every qualification of an all-accompliſhed *Churchman*, but alſo, in the moſt exalted ſenſe, *the Character of a Nobleman of* Great-Britain.

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EXPLA-

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OF THE

REFERENCES.

CARDINAL POLE's Letters, of which frequent uſe is made in the following Work, are publiſhed in five Parts, large quarto; and are referred to in the following, or ſome ſuch like manner, *R. Poli Epiſt.* pars — pag. —

When his Life is cited, it is from the *Venice* edition of 1563; in which the leaves are numbered, not the pages: but when the latter are referred to, the back ſide of the leaf is indicated.

When Lord *Herbert* is cited, it is always that Nobleman's life of *Henry* VIII. ſmall folio.

Sadolet's Letters are quoted from the *Lyons* edit. octavo, year, 1560.

Boſſuet's Hiſt. des Vari. des Egl. Proteſt. is cited from the *Paris* edit. 1734.

Biſhop *Burnet* is always quoted from his Hiſtory of the Reformation, printed in 1715.

The other References, either cauſe no ambiguity, or are ſo pointed out, in their proper places, as to clear it up.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
LIFE
OF
REGINALD POLE.

SECT. I.

His Education at the Universities of Oxford *and* Padua. *Writes the Life of his Friend* Longolius; *and Observations on all* Cicero's *Works.*

His Behaviour at his Return to ENGLAND, *in the Affair of* HENRY *the Eighth's Divorce.*

Refuses the See of YORK.

THE Period, at which Providence was pleased the great Personage, whose life I have undertaken to write, should appear in the World, was distinguished by as many memorable Events, not only in the Country which gave him birth, but also in the neighbouring Kingdoms, as any Epoch since the establishment of Christianity. Nor was his high destiny more conspicuous in being adorned with every accomplishment suited to the dignity of the character he was to sustain, than in having every opportunity of exerting those accompliments.

The *Empire*, with the kingdoms of *Castile* and *Aragon*, and their wide Dependancies, united in the house of *Austria*, gave a youthful and ambitious Prince a weight in the affairs of *Europe*, which had not been felt since *Charlemain*: and the wealth of a new world, whose conquest was now begun by his arms, added to these dominions, had made his designs as vast, as the means he had to compass them. *Francis* I. a great and gallant Prince, after a total defeat, was become his prisoner, and carrried to *Madrid*: and *Rome*, given up to the plunder of his army, had seen the avarice and barbarity of the *Vandals* renewed; and the majesty of her Churches, and of the first Bishop of the Christian world profaned and insulted by him who should have been their guardian and protector. *France*, likewise, was become a compact and formidable body by a late acquisition of States, which she considered as so many vital parts of her Monarchy, rather than accessions to it. *Burgundy*, *Anjou*, and *Provence*, had been united to her in the reign of *Lewis* XI. and *Anne* of *Bretany* had brought that Dutchy a Dower to *Charles* VIII. The Republick of *Venice* was arrived to her highest pitch of glory; and a martial spirit, not unworthy their ancient reputation, distinguished the other States of *Italy*.

By the acquisitions of the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*, a gate was opened to Christianity in the remotest parts of the east and west *Indies*; at the same time that *Luther* in *Germany*, and *Calvin* in *France*, began to oppose the ancient Faith, and set aside those Principles of belief and practice, the necessity of which was never more acknowledged, than since their influence has ceased to be felt. Resentment against the Pope, who refused to authorize the lawless lust of *Henry* VIII. had caused that Prince to disown all authority of the See of *Rome*, and make himself acknowledged

supreme

ſupreme Head of the Church of *England*; by which attempt he had ſeparated the nation from the Catholic Church; and *England* ſaw, in the latter part of this Prince's reign, and in that of his two immediate Succeſſors, three total changes of Religion within the ſhort ſpace of one and twenty years.

THIS Period was not leſs fruitful in the Revolution of Literature, than in thoſe of civil and religious concerns. The knowledge of the learned languages, and every branch of uſeful and ornamental learning, together with the polite Arts, ſucceeded an iron age of ignorance and barbariſm; and lighted up the ſacred lamp of Science, which, for ſome Centuries, had been almoſt totally extinct.

NOR were inſtances in excellence of a different and more divine order wanting to grace the age in which He was born, who was to do it ſo much honour in his own perſon: and the whole Chriſtian World beheld in the general Council of *Trent*, at which He preſided, one of the moſt learned and auguſt Aſſemblies, that ever met on ſo important an occaſion; and, in the deciſions of that Aſſembly, a moſt compleat and accurate Rule of Faith and Diſcipline, which error and licentiouſneſs had endeavoured to overthrow.

MOREOVER, that Rules laid down with ſo much wiſdom and ſanctity might obtain their end, ſeveral eminent perſons, who then appeared, and were illuſtrious for the purity of their lives, and an heroic exerciſe of Virtue, enforced by example that Reformation of manners, which precept alone cannot effect. This was the general ſituation of the World with reſpect to letters, and to civil and religious affairs, at the time when the perſon I am going to ſpeak of, came to perform his part in it.

Reginald Pole received his birth at a Caſtle which takes it's name from the river *Stour*, two miles diſtant from *Stourbridge*, in *Staffordſhire* *. He was born in *March*, in the year 1500, which was the fifteenth of *Henry* the VIIth's reign, and the ninth of that Prince's age who ſucceeded him. His Father, Sir *Richard Pole*, was ſon to Sir *Geoffry Pole*, knight, deſcended of ancient Gentry in *Wales*. A courtly behaviour, and great ſweetneſs of diſpoſition joined to equal valour, which he ſhewed in *Henry*'s wars with *Scotland*, recommended Sir *Richard* to that Prince's favour. He gave him large command in the Country, from which they both derived their origin; created him Knight of the Garter, and appointed him chief Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, and Governor to his eldeſt Son, *Arthur*, Prince of *Wales*. Theſe marks of diſtinction were ſtill heightened by allying him to a perſon of the royal blood, *Margaret*, Counteſs of *Saliſbury*, daughter to *George*, Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to *Edward* the IVth. and Siſter to the young Earl of *Warwick*, who was ſacrificed to the cruel and wicked policy of *Henry* VII. and *Ferdinand* of *Aragon*, Father to Queen *Catharine*. This choice was intended by the wary Monarch, not only as a reward of his ſervices, on whom it fell; but to quiet his own fears from a revival of the claim of the *Plantagenets*, by marrying the next in blood of that family to a perſon of an unambitious temper, and approved fidelity. From this marriage ſprang four Sons and a Daughter; *Henry*, the firſt born, *Geoffry*, *Arthur*, *Reginald*, and *Urſula*, who being all under age when their Father died, were

* *Cambden*'s *Brit. Staffordſhire.* The place now belongs to Mr. *Hodgetts*, in right of his wife, as heireſs of a branch of the *Foley* family.

left

left to the guardianſhip of the Counteſs their Mother *.

WITH theſe advantages of high birth and the perſonal merit of his Parents, REGINALD appeared from his infancy endowed with thoſe diſpoſitions which reflect a greater luſtre, even on ſuch a deſcent, than they derive from it. His Mother's care was to form him early to the hopes ſhe had conceived of him; and he ſeconded her views ſo well, that having drawn on himſelf the attention of the times, in which he lived, and been the object of their love and admiration, his character has ſtood the teſt of the two following ages, and is ſtill freſh and unſullied.

AT the age of ſeven years he was ſent to the *Carthuſians* of *Shene*, near *Richmond*, in *Surry*, where there was a Grammar-School: he ſtaid there five years, and retained ever after a particular affection for the place. Having learnt not only the rudiments of polite literature, but attained a proficiency in it much beyond his years, he was removed to *Oxford*, became Nobleman of *Magdalene* College, and had an apartment aſſigned him in the Preſident's lodgings. *Thomas Linacre*, and *William Latimer*, amongſt other eminent men, contributed to bring him acquainted with the beſt Models of Greek and Roman learning. The former was an excellent Phyſician, who pro-

* This account is taken from the Herald's-Office, and is ſomething different from what *Beccatelli* and *Dudithius* relate, both as to the number of the children, and the order of their birth. The words of the latter are theſe. " Ex hoc matrimonio ſex liberi ſuſcepti, mares quatuor, fœminæ duæ. Natu maximus, qui ditionis paternæ hæreditatem adiit *Henrici*, alter *Arturi* nomen accepit; tertius is, de quo nunc loquimur, *Reginaldus*; quartus *Gofredus* appellatus eſt. Hi omnes patri ſuperſtites, pueri adhuc in matris tutelam venerunt. Et filiæ quidem matris curâ et diligentiâ honeſtè in primis, ſanctèque educatæ, viris in *Anglia* ſummæ nobilitatis nuptui traditæ ſunt.

 jected

jected the foundation of a college for that Faculty; and was the firſt Preſident of that honourable Body: and both he and *Latimer* were the joint reſtorers of polite learning amongſt us; or, to ſpeak more properly, the firſt who laid the true foundations, and gave juſt notions of it. Their writings ſtill bear witneſs to the elegance of their taſte, and the extent of their knowledge.

UNDER Maſters thus qualified to form a Youth, whoſe parts and deportments ſeemed already to promiſe the figure he afterwards made, no leſs in the learned, than in the great World, his progreſs repaid their induſtry, and ſurpaſſed their expecta-
27th *June* 1515. tions. At fifteen he took the Degree of Bachelor of Arts; and petitioned, according to the cuſtom
Panni pretioſi, et pelluræ pretioſæ. of the times, to wear a gown and robes ſuitable to his extraction and rank; and to be admitted to the publick Library. At ſeventeen, he was nominated, by the King, Prebendary of *Roſcomb*, in the Cathedral of *Saliſbury*; and of *Yatminſter-Secunda* in the ſame Church; and had, ſoon after, by the ſame Royal bounty, the Deanry of *Wimburne Minſter* in *Dorſetſhire*, and that of *Exeter* conferred on him. He continued five or ſix years at the Univerſity, and gained a general approbation, not only on account of an underſtanding capable of the higheſt attainments, but alſo for the purity of an irreproachable life, great modeſty, and a remarkable mildneſs of temper. A civility which he here ſhewed to one, who was now growing up to be the Ornament and delight of his Country, is not to be omitted, was it but to make known the early ſympathy which at very diſparate years, united theſe two perſons. *Thomas More*, who was afterwards Chancellor, having occaſion for the advice of Phyſicians, REGINALD had not only ſent him the opinion of the moſt eminent of that profeſſion in the Univerſity, but wrote to the Counteſs of *Saliſbury* his Mother, to

make up the prescription: for which *More* returns his acknowledgments in a very polite letter addressed in common to REGINALD, and to *John Clement*, who was afterwards Preceptor to *More*'s family, and has been highly extolled by his Patron, in a letter to *Erasmus* *. In another place he mentions the singular pleasure he had received from the commendations which a latin letter of his favourite daughter *Margaret* had deserved from REGINALD; a Youth, says he, as learned as he is noble, and as virtuous as learned †. Having finished a course of Philosophy, he gave a public account of his proficiency in an Academical Exercise, which continued several days, to the great satisfaction of the Audience, who were equally struck with a maturity of knowledge uncommon at so early a period of life, and with the graceful behaviour of the noble youth who was master of it ‡.

THE elevation and elegance of his genius gave him a strong bias to those studies which excite and cultivate true greatness of soul; and he had already felt how much the ancient Greek and Roman Authors contribute to it, both by the precepts they lay down, and the examples they propose. Being, therefore, initiated in a relish of this pursuit, he was desirous to prosecute it where there was the fairest prospect of success: and *Italy* was then the Mart of whatever was valuable

* Epistola *Mori* ad *Polum* et *Clementem*. Epistolâ *Mori* ad *Erasmum*, in *Mori* Vitâ à *Stapleton* editâ, pag. 221.

† Vita *Mori*, p. 61.

‡ Ad celebrem *Oxoniensem* academiam missus, in dialecticæ et philosophiæ studiis brevi eos progressus fecit, ut pene puer adhuc magna cum laude atque omnium admiratione publicam ac solemnem quandam disputationem, sicuti mos est, per aliquot dies habuerit. *Thoma Linacro* et *Gulielmo Latimerio*, doctissimis hominibus, liberalium artium magistris ab doctoribus usus est. *Duditius*.

in theſe acquiſitions. Several very different cauſes had happily concurred to this memorable date of the reſtoration of Letters, and to make that country the ſeat of them. Ignorance of all ingenuous knowledge, which, for ſome ages, had ſpread her ſable mantle over the reſt of *Europe*, ſeemed to reverence thoſe climes, to which polite learning owed her birth; and *Greece* ſtill continued to nouriſh Arts of which ſhe had been the Parent. The Commentaries on *Homer*, by *Euſtathius*, biſhop of *Theſſalonica*, who lived in the twelfth century, are alone a ſufficient voucher of the ſtate of literature in *Greece*, at that time. But that Empire having become the conqueſt of the *Turks*, and *Conſtantinople* being taken by them in the year 1453, the Learned, who were yet numerous in thoſe parts, could not brook the thought of living under a government, whoſe baſe was a brutal contempt of knowledge, and ſottiſh ſuperſtition: and the houſe of *Medici* afforded them an honourable Refuge in *Italy*.

THE Republic of *Florence* had lately ſubmitted to their ſway, and *Coſmus* the *Great*, ſurnamed *the father of his people*, and *the deliverer of his country*, who delighted in learning, drew thoſe to him who made profeſſion of it, by every encouragement which generoſity and diſcernment could confer. By their aſſiſtance he collected that famous Library, which has been the Theme of ſo much Panegyric; and their own works are a ſtill more valuable monument of their Patron's merit, and their gratitude. The ſame noble inclination diſtinguiſhed *Laurence*, his Grandſon, father to *Leo* X. and who with other encouragements of domeſtic example, had that of his Mother *Lucretia*, a Lady whoſe beauty and rank were the leaſt of her commendations. He was the declared Protector of the Greek Exiles, and employed *Laſcar*, one of the moſt illuſtrious, and who deſcended

from

from their Emperors, to purchaſe Manuſcripts in that language, and compleat the Collection his Grandfather had begun. He entertained ſeveral about his perſon with a liberality worthy the ſurname of *the father of letters*, and having lived equally the delight of his own people and of the neighbouring ſtates, he died regretted by all. Had this Prince's regard to conſiderations of a higher and more ſacred nature been equal to the other parts of his character, *Europe* would have acknowledged in him, to whom ſhe is chiefly indebted for her preſent ſtate of learning, one of the greateſt and moſt amiable men ſhe can boaſt.

LEO X. one of his Sons, being raiſed to the Popedom, made *Rome*, what his Father's Palace had been at *Florence*, an Academy of learning: and would have held a conſiderable rank in this claſs himſelf, had he remained in a private condition. He had a happy genius, which had been cultivated by the ableſt Maſters. The Ode with which one of them has honoured an edition of *Horace*, by *Lambinus*, may vie with the moſt finiſhed performances of the roman *Lyric:* the turn, the harmony, the ornaments, the elegance, are worthy a *Medicean* Pontificate, or the Reign of *Auguſtus*.

AN emulation, which ſurpriſed even thoſe who were engaged in it, was equally kept up in the Profeſſors, and thoſe who crowded to their leſſons; and converſation, in general, turned on ſuch ſubjects, in which few modern companies could have any ſhare. Theſe happy days began under *Sixtus* IV. but *Leo* ſaw them in all their brightneſs. The State of *Venice* became, likewiſe, one of the early and renowned Seats of Letters; and *Padua*, at the time I am ſpeaking of, was the chief School of thoſe Arts, which make men valuable in themſelves, and uſeful to their Country.

For

For it muſt be acknowledged, to the honour of Letters, that ſeveral of thoſe who then excelled in them, joined to their knowledge of books great ſkill in affairs of the higheſt concernment to the Church and State; and revived the example of the Ancients, whoſe management of public buſineſs, no leſs than their writings, was the fineſt inſtruction of prudence and practical wiſdom; and who were able men as well as great Scholars. Nature ſeemed now to make an uncommon effort in raiſing, almoſt at the ſame time, ſo many great perſonages for the reſtoration of Learning, and to have given them the lead in merit as much as in time, with reſpect to their followers. Thoſe who are equal to ſuch a diſcuſſion, have allowed them this precedence, which muſt appear equitable, when we take into the eſtimate the diſadvantages they lay under, and the difficulties they were to ſtruggle with, by the mere ſtrength of their own genius and induſtry. All their reſources were to be found in themſelves, and, *Columbus* like, they were to explore a new World.

THIS ardour for improvement firſt employed itſelf on *Claſſic* learning; and whatever related to any of its branches was attentively conſidered by theſe Revivers of it. The Poets, Orators, and Hiſtorians of ancient *Greece* and *Rome*, were ſtudied with the utmoſt accuracy. *Plato* and *Ariſtotle* were no longer read in barbarous tranſlations, but in their own tongue. That unprofitable application to raiſe and reſolve queſtions, and exerciſe the reaſoning faculty alone, which had, for ſo long a time, taken up the Schools, was, in great meaſure, laid aſide; and their attention turned to enquiries of a more poſitive and real nature; to reading and criticiſm.

PHYSIC, though ſo noble and uſeful a knowledge, had been, before this Epoch, as low as the other Sciences: but the *Greek* Exiles, encouraged by

by the ſame generous Patrons, the *Medici*, ſet the Faculty on underſtanding and explaining the excellent Maſters, who had wrote in that language, and examining how far the *Arabians* had followed, or departed from them; and theſe Reſearches opened the way to further improvements.

The *Art* of *Printing*, which had been diſcovered ſome time before, afforded an opportunity of publiſhing correct Editions of the Ancients. The learned compared the Manuſcrips, compoſed Vocabularies and Grammars, cleared up the difficulties of their favourite Authors, and elucidated every ſubject which could contribute to the knowledge of Antiquity: the religion and mythology, the forms of government, the military force and diſcipline. They deſcended even to a minute detail of the domeſtic life of the Ancients, to their dreſs, their meals and diverſions; and have ſucceeded ſo well, as to abridge the way to knowledge, and make it not only eaſy but delightful. By their labours, things removed at ſo great a diſtance from our times and manners, are become familiar to us, and we as converſant with them as with the occurrences of common life. On theſe great Originals they likewiſe formed their own genius and expreſſion; and transferred the excellence of *Greece* and *Rome* into their own compoſitions: and if ſome of them have been juſtly charged with the abuſe and miſapplication of their talents, and other more capital diſorders, theſe can, with no more equity, be imputed to learning, than the wanderings and wrecks of wilful and obſtinate Pilots to the invention of the Compaſs, or the art of Navigation.

From theſe neceſſary and uſeful Rudiments of human literature, they roſe to more important and elevated views, and took in the Greek and Latin Fathers, Church Hiſtory, the Councils and ancient Canons, which were then little known.

They

They went up to the origin of Tradition, and drew the Doctrine of Chriſtianity from its Source; and the genüine ſenſe of the Scriptures from an accurate knowledge of the learned languages. In this manner the rays of truth and diſcernment were enkindled, which then enlightened Mankind, and ſtill continue to ſhine on it.

AND, that the Mind might, at the ſame period, awaken all her faculties, and diſplay her whole ſtore, the fine Arts joined the Sciences in their majeſty; and all Nature opened in the paintings of *Raphael*, *Michael-Angelo*, and *Titian*: whilſt Sculpture and Architecture propoſed thoſe wonderous models of perfection, to which after times approach in proportion only as they fall leſs ſhort of them.

THE effects which this Revolution cauſed were too important in themſelves, and too viſible in his Character, whoſe life I write, not to require this detail. The times in which he lived, the employments he went through, were perpetually intereſted in them: he had intimate connections with the chief of thoſe, from whom Mankind derived this benefit; the encouragement he gave, and the example he ſet, gave him a right to be ranked amongſt them; and his works bear the genuine ſtamp of the *Æra* in which they were produced.

THIS influence was firſt felt, as has been ſaid, in *Italy*, and the good ſenſe of the Engliſh engaged them, very ſoon, to avail themſelves of it. *Linacre* and *Latimer*, Doctor *Pace*, Secretary of State, and Embaſſador to *Venice* and other States of *Italy*, *Lupſet* his Secretary, *Tunſtal*, Biſhop of *Durham*, and Doctor *Colet*, Dean of St. *Paul's*, to ſay nothing of others, had been brought up in that School, and there laid the foundation of that reputation which their names ſtill enjoy. The celebrated *Budé*, in a letter to *Linacre*, congratulates

tulates him on a happineſs, of which his own education had been deprived *; and *Eraſmus* ſeems to think this advantage alone to have been denied to Sir *Thomas More* †.

WERE other arguments wanting, this alone is ſufficient to prove that the Engliſh did not derive Science through any intermediate Channel, but went up to the Fountain head, and drew it from the Source itſelf. And Mr. *Voltaire*, who aſſerts, that we owe our learning to *France*, and that it is of ſo modern a date as the reign of *Lewis* XIV. has fallen into one of thoſe many and notorious overſights, into which the vanity peculiar to his nation, and his own diſingenuity ſo often betray him ‡.

THE home-bred incitements I have mentioned, beſides his own inclination, determined REGINALD on his journey to *Italy*. His Mother and Family conſented to a ſtep, which ſeemed to ſecond the hopes he had already raiſed both in them and the whole nation: and the King, beſides the Church benefices conferred on him, aſſigned him a penſion ſuitable to the ſupport of his rank. This income enabled him to appear at *Padua* with a dignity becoming ſo near a Kinſman of a great King. At his arrival, he was conſidered as the firſt perſonage of the Univerſity, and ſtyled, by way of excellence, *the Nobleman of England*: and his reputation increaſed in proportion as his character was known. His firſt care was to ſettle a houſhold, compoſed chiefly of ſuch as could be of uſe to him in his favourite ſtudies of eloquence and polite letters. It was cuſtomary, at that time,

* O te felicem, cui olim contigit *Italicam* illam doctrinam auribus etiam, ne dum oculis, haurire! Id cum animadverto, infelicis ſortis meæ reminiſcor. *Bud. ad Linac.*

† Si hoc ingenium excoluiſſet *Italia*.

‡ See *Angeloni*'s Letters, 47th Letter.

for

for men of eminent birth and opulent fortunes to maintain a certain number of ſuch perſons in their family. They enjoyed the elegant pleaſure of their converſation, and afforded an honourable ſubſiſtence to thoſe who were the ornament of their own age, and whoſe labours were to be the inſtruction of poſterity. This ingenuous diſpoſition, which the revival of learning had raiſed, prevailed chiefly in *Italy*, nor could it become any one more than a Youth of the Royal blood, who was a Candidate of thoſe Arts. With this view he invited ſome eminent perſons to his houſe, and, amongſt others, *Lupſet*, an Engliſhman, and *Longolius* a native of *Flanders*. It would be needleſs to ſay any thing of the moral merit of theſe two extraordinary young men, ſince, without that, all other excellence would have been overlooked by a Patron, who, even at the age of twenty, made Virtue the ſtandard of every other qualification. *Lupſet*, though ſnatched from the world in his ſix and thirtieth year; has left behind him ſeveral treatiſes equally learned and polite *; and a ſtill more valuable monument of himſelf, the character of candour, modeſty, and religion. But there is ſomething ſo uncommon in that of *Longolius*, that I ſhall reſerve what I have to ſay of him to a more proper place.

PADUA was now, as *Eraſmus* obſerves, the *Athens* of *Europe*, and had the ſame ſuperiority over other places of education, as the former had in *Greece*. It was, moreover, at the height of its Glory, and had been the School of moſt of the great men of thoſe times. The Univerſity is ſaid to have been founded by *Charlemain*, and was greatly augmented in the twelfth and following

* Beſides ſeveral works in Engliſh he wrote, *pro Eraſmo, contra Leium. In Corruptos Sæculi Mores. De Malis fugiendis. De morte non pertimeſcendâ. Epiſtolæ variæ, &c.*

century.

century. The freedom of the Government, under which it now flouriſhed, amongſt other reaſons, recommended it to the Encouragers of thoſe Sciences, which are properly called *Liberal. Livy*, who was a native, and *Virgil*, refer the origin of the City to *Antenor*, two hundred years before the foundation of *Rome*. It is ſituated near the *Brenta*, in a fertile plain, and the neighbourhood of a rich and delightful country. Like other Cities of *Italy*, it has been ſubject to frequent revolutions, and changed its form of Government eight times ſince the *Romans* were maſters of it. From them it paſſed to *Attila*; and from him to *Narſes*: and then remained long under the Sovereigns of *Lombardy*. But their kingdom being deſtroyed by *Charlemain*, it flouriſhed under the Kings of *Italy*. It then became a prey to the Tyrant *Onara*; and, his family being exterminated, it was changed into a Commonwealth in the tenth Century; and continued ſo till the *Carrari* made themſelves maſters of it, in the thirteenth. Laſtly, the *Venetians* having put *Francis Carrari* and his two ſons to death, added *Padua* and its large dependencies to their dominion, in the year 1406. Such has been the various deſtiny of that City, which was to be the Seat of thoſe Sciences, which have undergone almoſt as many revolutions. At preſent, the Univerſity ſubſiſts chiefly on its ancient fame, and Students go to *Padua*, as Travellers viſit Ruins, in conſideration of what it formerly was.

But at the period I am ſpeaking of, it was the firſt School in *Europe* of the learned languages, and of every branch of polite literature, of Philoſophy and Phyſic, and of the Canon and Civil law, which were then thought a neceſſary qualification to thoſe who were deſigned for the employments of the State and public life. The higher and more ſacred attainments were likewiſe taught with

with equal ſucceſs, and ſome of the moſt finiſhed pieces of Chriſtian erudition were the fruits of education received here *. The Works alone of thoſe who, about this time, graced the Univerſity, would furniſh a large and valuable Library. Each of theſe Sciences had their ſeveral Profeſſors, who were not only eminent in that which they taught, but in moſt others: and their Lectures were frequented by Students of the firſt quality and parts, of all nations.

Amongst theſe the noble Youth of our Country diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a ready apprehenſion, ſolid judgment, and unwearied perſeverance. He had already laid a well-ſettled foundation; and being eager after knowledge, and having a mind capable of receiving, with eaſe and diſtinction, all the variety of it, his progreſs was ſoon the admiration of thoſe who were witneſſes to it. He was, ever after, ſenſible of the advantages he received from this inſtitution, and in a letter to the Doge *Gritti*, who had ordered the *Venetian* Embaſſador to compliment him, in his own and the State's name, on his promotion to the Purple, he expreſſes himſelf with great gratitude on this ſubject, and gives *Padua* the preference, it then deſervedly claimed, to all places deſtined to the ſame purpoſes †. The concourſe of Foreigners from the moſt oppoſite regions afforded him an opportunity of becoming acquainted with various nature, and thoſe excellencies and defects, which in great meaſure, are the effect of climate and conſtitution: and he began a friendſhip with ſeveral who afterwards proved the greateſt men in Europe. A further advantage accrued to him during his reſidence here, and for which he was indebted, not to the place, but to himſelf. An eaſy acceſs, noble behaviour, and that favour

* Witneſs the Works of *Contareni, Sadolet, &c.*
† In a letter from *Rome*, 1537.

which

which always attends high birth, when it is not rendered odious by pride, or diſgraced by ſordid and vulgar diſpoſitions, had recommended him to the love and eſteem of the ableſt Profeſſors. They conſidered him not merely as one of their Auditors, but as a perſon, in whoſe advancement their honour and inclination were particularly concerned: they admitted him to an intimacy, and to all thoſe privileges which are derived from an intercourſe with able men, and ſeveral of them have conſigned, in their writings, the eſteem they had for him, to poſterity *. He received, likewiſe, 1523.
during his ſtay here, a particular mark of regard from his own Country; Dr. *Fox*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and one of the greateſt perſonages of thoſe times, having lately founded the College of *Corpus Chriſti*, at *Oxford*, entered and made him Fellow of it.

Leonicus was one of thoſe whoſe lectures he chiefly attended: he was the firſt, as Cardinal *Bembo* obſerves, who, in *Padua*, explained *Ariſtotle* in the *Greek* tongue, and did juſtice even to the majeſty of *Plato:* and his profound knowledge, amiable character, and ſanctity of manners have been celebrated by *Eraſmus* †. *Amaſæus*, who was afterwards Secretary to *Julius* III. and employed on very important affairs in the Courts of *Germany*, was alſo profeſſor of the *Greek* and *Latin* languages, and his writings atteſt his ſkill in each of them, as well as his elegance and perſpicuity. *Flaminius*, at the ſame time excelled not only in Poetry and Eloquence, but in Philo-

* Quæ autem prima illi cura fuit, ut in præſtantiſſimi cujuſque ejus Academiæ viri amicitiam et conſuetudinem veniret, præſtanti ingenii indole et ſingulari morum ſuavitate facilè eſt aſſecutus. Omnibus enim chariſſimus jucundiſſimuſque erat, atque ejus domus ab optimo et eruditiſſimo quoq; celebrabatur. *Dudithius.*

† Vir optimus, ſanctiſſimus, atque doctiſſimus.

ſophy. His father, a native of *Imola*, had gained great reputation at *Bologna*, and his works ſhew he deſerved it. The Preſident *de Thou* beſtows the higheſt commendations on the Son's piety and erudition; and informs us, "that having had a great ſhare in REGINALD POLE's friendſhip, he was the firſt of the *Italians*, who, at his inſtance, attempted, in *Latin* metre, the divine ſtrength and harmony of the Pſalms *." An incident which afterwards happened to *Flaminius*, gave REGINALD an opportunity of exerting a benevolence, which does him as much honour as the moſt ſhining actions of his life; and was the higheſt and moſt uſeful inſtance of friendſhip he either did, or could confer on him. *Bonamico*, another of theſe Worthies, was a Labourer's Son of *Baſſiano*, and muſt have inherited his Father's obſcurity, had not a ſuperior genius gained the aſcendant of his low condition, and manifeſted itſelf, very early, by an inclination to letters, and a rapid and ſurpriſing progreſs in them. The City of *Padua* having choſen him Profeſſor of eloquence, he preferred that ſtation to all the emoluments, by which *Ferdinand* King of *Hungary*, and *Clement* VII. invited him to their Courts. What the Preſident *de Thou* ſays of *Bonamico* is too honourable not to be related: "He taught, ſays he, in this celebrated Univerſity, with the admiration of all the World, and was equally honoured by Italians and Strangers, for his profound knowledge of Antiquity, his extenſive erudition, his eloquence, and particularly for a clear and ready judgment †." *Eraſmus*, likewiſe, writing to *Goes*, places *Bonamico*'s merit on a level with that of *Bembo*, and *Cœlius* ‡.

THESE were a few of the many who kept up

* *Thuani* Hiſt. lib. viii. † Ibid. Lib. xi.
‡ Egregii Litterarum Heroes.

a noble

a noble emulation both amongſt themſelves and their Auditors; and each Profeſſor had that incitement to glory, which *Alexander* ſaid was wanting to him, at the *Olympic* Games, a Competitor like himſelf to contend with. The only felicity which now ſeemed to be denied to *Padua*, was to have her Chair of Civil Law filled by the great *Alciate*. He was a native of *Milan*, and the firſt, who, for many ages, had united the ſtudy of polite Learning and Antiquity with that of the Law. He taught at *Bourges* and *Avignon*, whither the generoſity of *Francis* I. invited him; and at *Placentia*, *Ferrara*, and *Pavia*; at the latter of which places he died in 1550. This liberal and judicious method has lately been revived in our own Country and Language, with reſpect to the Common Law of *England*, by Mr. *Blackſtone*, the *Vinerian* Profeſſor of that Law, in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and one of its Guardians in the *Britiſh* Senate.

In the midſt of this emulation, our young Countryman formed himſelf to thoſe great and different ſcenes he was to engage in, in the ſubſequent parts of life. At the ſame time he cultivated a correſpondence with ſeveral eminent perſons, to whom his riſing merit began to be known, and who held it a ſingular honour to have a place in his acquaintance. *Bembo* Secretary to *Leo* X. who was then at *Padua* for the recovery of his health, was of this number. Their intimacy appears from ſeveral letters which then paſſed between them; though thoſe of *Bembo* only are now extant, and they ſhew the high reputation which REGINALD already had in *Italy*. He correſponded alſo with the famous *Sadolet*, as *Bembo* informs us, though none of their letters to each other, of this date, are extant; nor, indeed, any of REGINALD's during his ſtay at *Padua*. His

fame was not confined to *Italy*; it was ſpread far beyond the *Alps*, and had reached *Eraſmus*, who in one of his letters to him, ſays, " that *Lupſet* had deſcribed him in ſuch a manner, that an acquaintance of ſeveral months could not have given him a greater inſight into his character; and I rejoice, ſays he, that theſe deplorable times have found ſo able a ſupport of letters and piety*." He recommends to him, likewiſe, a young Poliſh Nobleman, *John à Laſco*, who was going to the Univerſity of *Padua*. " † You will love him, ſays he, becauſe he has all thoſe qualities which make you amiable; noble extraction, high poſts of honour, and ſtill greater expectations, a wonderful genius, uncommon erudition, and all this without any pride. I have hitherto been happy in his company, and now loſe it with great regret. Amongſt other inducements to take this journey with him, which would give me a ſecond youth, the chief is to converſe with *Pace*, my intimate friend; with *Lupſet*, whom I have always loved as a Son, and now conſider as a Patron; and with you, my *Pole*, whom I value above all others: but the ſituation of my affairs detains me her." He informs him, in another letter, " that *Luther* had

* *Lupſetus* ſuis litteris te totum, ornatiſſime *Pole*, ſic depinxit, ut mihi notior eſſe non poſſes, ſi menſes aliquot domeſticam tecum egiſſem conſuetudinem. . . . Gaudea his deploratiſſimis temporibus exoriri qui bonarum litterarum ac pietatis cauſam et tueri poſſit et ornare.
Baſilia, 4 *Oct.* 1525.

† Non poterat optari comes itineris vel dux commoditor, cujus quàm hactenus fui convictu fœlix, tam nunc abitu diſcrucior. Amabis, ſat ſcio, tui ſimilitudinem: Clariſſimæ Majorum imagines, dignitates ampliſſimæ, ſpes ampliores, ingenii mira vena, eruditio neutiquam vulgaris, ne tantillum quidem ille addunt ſupercilii. Ee adſunt iſthic quorum conſuetudine poſſim vel rejuveneſcere, *Richardus Pacæus*, *Pyladeus* amicus; *Thomas Lupſetus*, quem ſemper filii loco dilexi, nunc ut Patronum colo Tu, in primis, mi *Pole*. Sed alligant me hic fata mea. *ibid.*

taken

taken offence at a work of controverſy he had publiſhed, though treated with great moderation; and had wrote a large volume againſt him, in a ſtyle (theſe are his words) which no one would uſe againſt the turk. I have anſwered, ſays he, a part of it only, having received the work late: and thus, from a conſtant promoter of peace and quiet, am forced to become a Gladiator, and what is worſe, to combat with wild beaſts*." In the

* *Luther* offenſus meâ diatribâ, modeſtiſſimè diſputante, ſcripſit in me magnum volumen, quale nemo ſcriberet in *Turcam.* Huic ex parte, reſpondimus; nam ſerò volumen nacti ſumus. Ego ille pacis et quietis ſemper amantiſſimus, cogor eſſe *Retiarius*, nec hoc ſatis, cogor *θηριομαχεῖν.* 4 *Mar.* 1526.

The following incident gave occaſion to the Work which *Eraſmus* here complains of. *Luther*, in his reply to *Henry* VIII's treatiſe on the Sacraments, had loſt all the regard which was due to the Royal Opponent; and *Eraſmus* was ſuſpected of having ſome ſhare in this diſreſpectful piece. On this, the King, whoſe Penſioner he was, ordered him to write againſt *Luther*'s errors; and his Friends in England let him know, that if he did not, his penſion would be ſtopped. He repreſented to the Court, that he had no part in *Luther*'s inſolence; and *Tonſtall*, Biſhop of *London*, let him know, the King was ſatisfied with his reaſons; and preſſed him at the ſame time, by an excellent letter, to undertake the defence of the Church againſt the *Hydra* which was riſen againſt her. Theſe remonſtrances, and a fear of the King's future diſpleaſure, and the loſs of his ſalary made him reſolve on writing. *Luther* had intelligence of it, and ſignified to him, that, "as the Lord had not given him courage to throw off the Maſk entirely, he would not aſk any thing above his ſtrength. That, he apprehended he might be ſeduced by his enemies to write againſt him, which would lay him, *Luther*, under the neceſſity of coming to an open rupture. That, *Eraſmus* could not fail of being worſted when he was beſet on both ſides. Each party, ſays he, perfectly well underſtands that what you call moderation, is nothing elſe but duplicity. All that I require, is, that you will be a Spectator of the Tragedy, and not write againſt me, and I will not trouble you." This letter became public, and put *Eraſmus* under a neceſſity either of engaging with *Luther*, or being ſuſpected of a colluſive treaty

Sekendorff Hiſt. *Luth.*

Eraſ. *Eraſ.* p. 834. Edit. *Baſil.* apud *Froben.*

the ſame letter, he condoles with him on the death of his friend *Longolius*; though, ſays he, " I had reaſon to complain of him." The ſubject of this complaint was a very ingenious and elegant parallel drawn between him and *Budé*; in which though much is ſaid in praiſe of the former, for

Epiſ. *Eraſ.* p. 597. et 635. treaty with him. He choſe therefore *the freedom of our will* for his ſubject, and when the work was printed, he ſent Copies of it to the King of England, to Biſhop *Tonſtall*, to Cardinal *Wolſey*, to the Pope's Secretary, to *George*, Brother of the Duke of *Saxony*, and made a great merit of having expoſed himſelf, as he ſays, to be ſtoned to death by the Heretics; but that it would be glorious for him to be the object of their malice in ſo good a cauſe. Whilſt he endeavoured by this method to gain the favour of the Catholics, he took the very oppoſite to ſecure that of the Proteſtants. ibid. p. 691. " You will be ſurpriſed, ſays he, to *Malancton*, that I ſhould write againſt *Luther*; *miraberis quòd libellum emiſerim*; but how could I avoid it? I was a loſt man if I had done otherwiſe: The Divines and Romiſh Potters, *figuli Romanenſes*, had made the crowned heads believe that I was a *Lutheran*; and my friends, ſeeing the riſk I ran of my life, promiſed the Pope, that I would write againſt *Luther*. On the other hand, *Luther*'s letter was become public, and we ſeemed to have entered on articles of mutual agreement. If I had not done as I did, I was ruined. You may perhaps tell me, that I have armed the *Tyrants* againſt *us*: not at all, *Melancton*: I talk of nothing but peace. Let all this, my friend, go no further than ourſelves: I have, indeed too good an opinion of your probity, to ſuſpect you will ſhew this letter to any body." He opens his mind with leſs reſerve to *Vivés*: ibid. p. 613. " I have wrote, ſays he, a treatiſe on free will, but, to ſpeak what I really think, I had then loſt the freedom of my own: and I believed nothing of what I wrote; *verum ut ingenuè dicam, pendidimus liberum arbitrium: illic mihi aliud dictabat animus, aliud ſcribebat calamus.*" This work put him on ill terms with *Luther* and all his Party. *Luther* replied to it, and reproached the Author with inconſtancy and breath of friendſhip; and the Lutherans every where declared againſt him. ibid. p. 790. *Eraſmus*, in his turn, wrote to *Luther* with great acrimony, and againſt the whole body of his followers, under the title of *Falſe Goſpellers*, *Pſeudo-Evangelici*; ibid. p. 716, &c. Senatui Argent. and yet by a ſtrange Inconſiſtency, he made Apologies for ſo doing, and declared in favour of their ſentiments.

which

which, in another place, he had acknowledged his obligations to the Author, yet, on the whole, the preference is given to *Budé* *. *Longolius* was born at *Mecklin*, and his memory, parts, and universal knowledge made him the wonder of those times. *Leo* X. honoured him with the highest marks of his approbation. At his first setting out in the career of eloquence, he indulged a luxuriancy of youthful fancy, which his riper years condemned. He was at *Padua*, when REGINALD came to the University, who received him, as has been said, into his family. To the Studies of humanity he had joined those which regard the Faith and Discipline of the Gospel; and, at a very early period of life, undertook to refute *Luther*'s whole System. Death prevented the execution of the design, and of five treatises, in which the Case was to have been stated, he had only time to finish the first. Being near his end, he dictated a letter to his generous Benefactor, who was then absent, in which he testifies the invariable esteem he had ever held him in, and desires the remembrance of their friendship may reach beyond the grave; and bequeaths him his Library, as the only pledge he could then give him of his regard †. He died in the flower of his age, being in his four and thirtieth year, and has been celebrated by the best Judges of merit amongst his Cotemporaries.

* Doleo *Longolium* immaturâ morte præreptum studiis, quanquam in me videtur iniquior, idque sine causa. *Ibid.*

† Etsi summis totius corporis doloribus oppressus, dubia spe vitæ, spiritum miserè duco, fecit tamen summum meum et perpetuum de te judicium, ut hos cruciatus nescio quo modo frangerem, dum supremo hoc literarum munere ad te persungor Peto igitur abs te per amicitiam nostram, quam ad summum pervenisse existimo, ut mortuo mihi memoriam benevolentiamque, quam necessitudo nostra postulat, humaniter ac pié præstes. *Long.* Epist. l. 4. ep. 33.

But no one has contributed ſo much to make this extraordinary young man's character known and approved, as the noble friend, who wrote his life; and who, being intimately acquainted with him, was as able as willing to do him juſtice. The relation is drawn up with an elegance of diction and ſentiment, and a maturity of thought equal to any age and experience; and it may be doubted, whether it does more credit to the Author or the Subject. It is prefixed to the Volume of His Letters, whoſe memory it preſerves; and may vie, in a graceful ſimplicity, and all the native beauties of compoſition, with the life of *Atticus*, by *Nepos*. This was the firſt ſpecimen Reginald gave of the maſterly command he had of the Latin language, and of a manner of thinking, which always appeared anſwerable to the energy of that tongue, and to every ſubject he treated in it.

He collected likewiſe, during his ſtay at *Padua*, the various readings and emendations of all *Cicero*'s works, to which he added his own remarks, with an intent to publiſh a compleat Copy of them. But the exigencies his Country fell into, ſoon after, and the occaſion ſhe had for more ſubſtantial ſervices than *Claſſic* learning could yield, made him apply himſelf wholly to procure her aids ſuited to her wants. This cauſed theſe papers to be firſt laid aſide, then neglected, and, at length loſt. Had the Author been beſtowed on leſs turbulent times, we ſhould have ſeen with pleaſure, the firſt ſhoot of a happy and cultivated genius; and the polite and knowing world would have admired a ſecond *Lelius*, not transferring the elegance of a *Greek* Poet into his friend's compoſitions, but benefiting all Mankind by his own obſervations on the greateſt and moſt univerſal Maſter of ſtyle, ſentiment and inſtruction, that ever enlightened the heathen World.

These

THESE were his ſtudies, his acquaintance, and correſpondents during his reſidence at the Univerſity, which was about ſix years. His birth, the figure he made, and more than theſe adventitious recommendations, his real and ſingular worth drew on him, from every quarter, a regard, which his plan of life and inclination ſeemed to ſhun. His reſerve in producing himſelf to public notice was ſuch, that he ſuppreſſed his own name when he publiſhed his friend's life; and only mentions himſelf, when he could not avoid it, and in ſo curſory and careleſs a manner, that the reader would think he was no ways intereſted in the perſon he ſpeaks of. *Longolius*, in a letter to *Saulius*, ſays, "he was a young man of ſingular modeſty and few words, and who had little reliſh for thoſe things which are the general topics of converſation *." Yet, notwithſtanding theſe ſhades and receſſes, the luminous part of his character ſtill ſtood out, and there was ſomething ſo ſuperior in his whole perſon and behaviour, that Secretary *Bembo*, at the firſt interview he had with him, made no difficulty to affirm, that he was the moſt learned, mature and virtuous young man then in *Italy*.

IT was now the *Jubilee* year, and he ſet out 1525.
for *Rome* to be preſent at that Solemnity. But though he travelled as privately as decency would permit, he was received every where with particular honours. Preſents were ſent to him at *Florence* and elſewhere, and he was complimented by the Nobility of the ſeveral Cities through which he paſſed; and theſe marks of diſtinction were no where ſhewed him with more profuſion

* Nam *Polus* noſter ille quidem ingenioſus, et mehercule, elegantiſſimi judicii adoleſcens; ſed neque qui iſtiuſmodi diſputationibus de nunciis magnopere capiatur, et mirâ quadam tum modeſtia, tum taciturnitate ſit præditus.

Long. Epiſt. l. 3. ep. 12.

than

than at *Rome*. He was ſurpriſed at ſo unexpected a treatment, and, for ſome time, at a loſs to gueſs, who had procured it, till he was informed it was the Biſhop of *Verona*. This Prelate was *Matthew Giberti*, one of the moſt celebrated perſonages of thoſe days, and whoſe praiſes are the worthy ſubject of one of *Vida*'s Poems. He had been at the head of the Chancery of *Rome*, under *Leo*; and being nominated to the See of *Verona*, had erected a Printing-houſe in his Palace, with a view chiefly to procure for the Public correct editions of the *Greek* Fathers. Though he had never ſeen our young Countryman, and knew him only from the report of others, particularly of *Bembo*, his eſteem and love of merit had made him conceive the warmeſt and moſt zealous affection for him. Of this he, afterwards, gave ſuch proofs as Fable itſelf has ſcarcely equalled. Several of them, which will find their place in this work, are recorded by the noble youth, on whom they were beſtowed, and make it difficult to determine whether his merit, or his friend's ſenſe of it, be more honourable. At the time I am ſpeaking of, he had begun a correſpondence with this Prelate, of which their common friend *Bembo* writes to REGINALD in the following terms: " He reads your letters over and over, and not content with thoſe he receives from you, he will ſee thoſe you write to me: he ſhews them to the beſt Judges, who all agree in admiring the candour, the elegance and good ſenſe with which they are penned: he inquires of your ſtudies, and of every thing which concerns you; in a word, he never ends when your praiſe and the love and regard he has for you, is the ſubject of his converſation. I congratulate you, that a perſon ſo highly valued and courted by the greateſt Potentates, has of his own accord, offered you his friend-

friendſhip, and I congratulate myſelf on having been inſtrumental to it *"

As Curioſity had no part in his taking this journey to *Rome*, having ſatisfied his piety in viſiting the places of devotion, he left that City without ſeeing the Pope's Court, and returned again to *Padua*, where he ſpent the greateſt part of the following year †.

BUT during the ſtay he made in *Italy* ſeveral things had happened, in which the cauſes were laid of thoſe events, which intereſted all his future life, and in ſome of which he began to diſtinguiſh himſelf almoſt as ſoon as he returned to his Country. *Charles* V. had made two journeys 1520.
into *England*, to concert meaſures againſt the 1522.
growing power of *France*, and a young Monarch at the head of it, as reſtleſs and ambitious as himſelf. He perceived the aſcendant Cardinal *Wolſey* had in all the *Britiſh* Councils, and let himſelf down to every condeſcenſion which could ſooth the vanity of that haughty Favourite. Amongſt other courtly arts, he made him an offer of his intereſt in the Conclave, when the Papacy ſhould be vacated: and, in his letters to him, afterwards, he treated him with the higheſt regard, and ſubſcribed himſelf *his Son*.

CARDINAL *Campegio* had come hither, a few 1518.
years before, and though a ſtranger to our language and manners, and without any thought of living

* *Bembi* Epiſtolæ Familiares, l. 5. *Venetiis*, 1552.

† The Writers of his Life place his return to *England* immediately on his leaving *Rome*: yet a letter, which *Eraſmus* wrote to him at *Padua*, on the 8th of *March*, 1526; and the date of two of *Bembo*'s letters, one of the 16th of *March*, the other in *July* of the ſame year, in both which mention is made of his being ſtill there, neceſſarily infer his going back to that City, and the ſtay I have mentioned. The diſagreement here of the Writers of his life with matter of fact is not material; but the reader is entitled to accuracy even in things which are not ſo.

amongſt us, had obtained the Biſhoprick of *Saliſbury*, and thus began a connection, which occaſioned him to be ſent over in the cauſe of the Divorce. The errand he now came on, was the project of a *Croiſade* for the recovery of the holy Land; an enterprize, in which Chriſtianity was, in that age, ſtill ſuppoſed to be concerned.

MARTIN LUTHER had already begun a defection from the See of *Rome*, which though inconſiderable at firſt, ſoon made that progreſs, to which ſo great a Part of *Germany*, and other Kingdoms and States ſtill bear witneſs. The Tenets he advanced had not been known in any prior age of the Chriſtian Church; or, if ever they were ſet on foot, had never failed of being condemned, as repugnant to what Antiquity had always held. And his Doctrine, under the ſpecious Name of *Reformation*, allowed a great latitude both in belief and practice, and gave riſe to a variety of jarring opinions, which though they produced endleſs changes, they wrought no amendment. The character of the Teacher was, in every reſpect, anſwerable to his Doctrine. He was an Apoſtate Monk, who lived in an habitual violation of engagements confirmed by the moſt ſolemn vows. A turbulent and furious ſpirit appears through almoſt every page of his Works, which are numerous; and abound with ſuch ribaldry and abuſe, as decency and good ſenſe equally diſown. At length, being loſt to every human ſentiment, this diſtemper of his mind tranſported him ſo far, as to give us his Dialogues with the Spirit of Lies, and the Arguments with which this Inſtructor furniſhed him againſt a Capital Article of the Catholic Religion. I ſhould be wanting to the reſpect I owe the Reader, was I to put down what he relates of his execrable intimacies

timacies with theſe infernal Inmates *; it being enough for my purpoſe, to have obſerved, that he acknowledges his converſion to one of them; and that he was his Maſter in a principal point of his Reformation †.

THE riſe of theſe innovations gave *Henry* VIII. an opportunity of exerting his zeal for the faith of his Anceſtors, by a work, in which the principal errors which *Luther* had advanced, were refuted; of which the King either was, or deſired to be reputed the Author. It was ſent to *Rome*, by a ſolemn Embaſſy, and preſented by Doctor *Clark*, Dean of *Windſor*, in the King's name, to *Leo* X. in full Conſiſtory, and received with a diſtinction which ſo unuſual a preſent from a crowned head very well claimed. The Pope roſe from his throne, kiſſed the Embaſſador's cheek, aſſured him he would do as much for the approbation of the Work, as had been done for St. *Auguſtine*'s, and St. *Hierome*'s, in their times; and, by a very honourable decree, conferred on *Henry*, and all the ſucceeding Kings of *England*, the title of *Defender of the Faith*, which they ſtill retain, and prefix to all Acts which have the ſanction of their authority. The Book is ſtill preſerved in the *Vatican* Library, and ſhewed to Strangers, particularly to the Engliſh. There is a Diſtich at the bottom of the laſt page, by which the King addreſſes the Work to his Holineſs, and his Majeſty's name in his own hand writing.

SOON after *Leo* dying was ſucceeded by *Adrian* 1522.
VI. who had been Preceptor to the Emperor ‡.
The

* *Walſingham*'s ſearch made into matters of Religion, quoted from *Luther*'s works tome 5th fol. 481, edit. *Jenæ, Diabolus frequentiùs et propiùs mihi condormit quàm mea Catharina.*

† De abro. Miſ. Pri. t. 7. No. 26. The Reader will find the paſſage at length in the Appendix, No. 1.

‡ Fuit ſub *Adriano* VI. par bonarum omnium litterarum infortunium. Nam cùm is *Leoni* X. ſuffectus eſſet, ad quem
utpote

The Professors of polite learning, who had resorted to his Predecessor, as to the common Patron of Classic merit, promised themselves the same encouragement from him. But *Adrian*, who had been educated at a Flemish University, was so far from answering their expectation, that he treated them with disregard, and called them, from one of their favourite Authors, *Terentians*, a term which he, as a *Schoolman*, thought reproachful. This caused them to leave his Court, and to fear the cloud was again returning, which, for so many ages, had intercepted the rays of Science. But he also dying within little more than a year, and a second *Medicean* Pontiff succeeding, their apprehensions ceased.

In both these vacancies of the See of *Rome*, the Emperor had thought of nothing less than his engagements to *Wolsey*; and though *Henry* had omitted nothing to advance his Minister to that high dignity, and the Cardinal's activity had exerted itself to the utmost, yet, as every promise on the Emperor's part had been broken, so every measure on the King's, and on that of the party concerned, had proved ineffectual; and *Clement* VII. was substituted to *Adrian*.

1523. The year which succeeded *Clement*'s election a Decree was obtained from *Rome*, at the King's and Cardinal's request, to suppress about forty Religious houses for the founding of two Colleges.

utpote litteratum Principem, magnus Litteratorum numerus confluxisset, dum non minora de *Adriano* sibi quisque pollicetur, ecce adest musarum et eloquentiæ, totiusque nitoris hostis acerrimus, qui Litteratis omnibus inimicitias minitaretur: quoniam, ut ipse dictitabat. *Terentiani* essent, quos cùm odisse, atque etiam perseq i cœpisset, voluntarium alii exilium, alias atque alias alii latebras quærentes, tam din latuere, quoad, Dei beneficio, altero imperii anno decessit; qui si aliquanto diutius vivisset, *Gottica* illa tempora adversus bonas artes videbatur suscitaturus. *Joa. Pier. Valer.* de Litter. infœli. l. 2.

There

There was a great latitude in the commiſſion, and great complaints made of abuſes in the execution. Theſe reached the King's ears, who expoſtulated with the Cardinal in ſuch a tone, that he thought proper either to excuſe or juſtify himſelf by a very ſubmiſſive letter. Though this appeaſed the King, it did not ſtop the clamour of the People, who diſliked ſuch proceedings, and looked upon them as the effects of *Wolſey*'s avarice and ambition: and the cenſure they have met with, in after times, from Perſons of a different perſuaſion from the Church of *Rome*, is not leſs ſevere. They have treated this ſuppreſſion as ſacrilegious; and obſerved, that all, who were concerned in it, the Pope not excepted, by whoſe authority it was carried on, were remarkably unfortunate *. As to the Foundations, in favour of which the Monaſteries were ſuppreſſed, the College at *Ipſwich* became a Ruin almoſt before it was built; and the other, at *Oxford*, was never finiſhed. And this very alienation furniſhed the 19th Article of the Bill of high crimes and miſdemeanours brought againſt him, who was the Author of it.

THE battle of *Pavia*, in which the French King was taken Priſoner, gave a great change to the Engliſh Counſels †; for as the power of the Emperor was now come to ſuch a pitch as to have no further dependance on us, the deference with which he had hitherto treated the King, was abated in proportion; and when he wrote to his Miniſter, he reſumed again the Monarch, and ſubſcribed himſelf *Charles* without any more ceremony. This ſlight, added to his diſappointment in his late viſions of the Papacy, put *Wolſey* on every method of wreaking his revenge on him, to whom, he im- 1524.

* *Stow, Spelman, Dugdale, Collier.*

† Embaſſy of Monſ. *de Tarbes*, amongſt *Lominie*'s collections, 33d vol.

puted

puted it. And now the ſtrength of the houſe of *Auſtria* becoming formidable gave him an opportunity of making his Prince take umbrage at it; and by detaching him gradually from its intereſts, ally him to its ſworn Rival. He had already entered on this plan, when, as ſhall be ſeen in its
1527. proper place, the ſacking of *Rome*, by the Imperial army, gave a kind of religious ſanction to it; and a league was agreed on between the Kings of *England* and *France*; and no meaſures thought too violent by which the Emperor was to be oppoſed. The Divorce, at this time, was ſet on foot by the ſame revengeful ſpirit; the immediate reſult of which, even before it was accompliſhed, was his ruin who contrived it.

REGINALD POLE was now ſix and twenty years old, and the reputation he had gained at *Padua*, joined to the natural tenderneſs of a mother, made the Counteſs of *Saliſbury* deſirous he ſhould return to his Country; nor were the reſt of his family leſs preſſing on this head. The King's favour, of which he had received ſuch early and repeated inſtances, ſeemed a ſure pledge of that promotion and fortune to which perſonal merit could entitle one who was ſo nearly allied to the Royal blood. And as *Henry* was magnificent in all his inclinations, there were no views to which they thought he would not allow his Kinſman to aſpire. In compliance, therefore, with this requeſt, he ſet out on his journey to *England*, where his fame was gone before him; and to the embraces of a Parent and Family, who ſeemed to reſt their chief hopes on the expectations they had conceived of him, and to whom he was no leſs dear than they to him.

1527. WHEN he returned to his Country, the King was in the thirty-ſixth year of his age, and the eighteenth of his acceſſion to the crown. His reign had, hitherto, appeared proſperous, and he was accounted

accounted one of the greateſt and moſt fortunate Princes in *Europe*. The two contending Powers, whoſe ambition engaged all the neighbouring ſtates in their quarrels, *France*, and the houſe of *Auſtria*, courted his alliance, and obtained it alternately, as the caprice or views of *Wolſey*, by whoſe counſel he was entirely governed, happened to favour one or the other. The wars he had waged with the former, though neither neceſſary in themſelves, or advantageous to his people, and carried on with enormous expence, had, generally, been attended with ſuch circumſtances and ſucceſs as flattered his vanity, and, by that means, laid him ſtill more open to the aſcendant his Miniſter had gained over him, and to the deſigns of his Neighbours. He had humbled the Scotch, who, at the inſtigation of *France*, had taken the advantage of his abſence, and invaded *England*: and the juſtice and neceſſity of repelling an enemy, had given his arms a luſtre, which, till then, had been wanting. An immoderate propenſity to pleaſure, which went through his whole reign, diſtinguiſhed the beginning of it; and he had ſcarce filled the throne, when the Court, from a Scene of ſordid frugality, which it had been in his Father's time, immediately became the ſeat of voluptuouſneſs and prodigality. He delighted in feaſting, muſic, and play; and in the exceſſive purſuit of theſe diverſions, as well as in a waſteful and oſtentatious manner of making treaties, and carrying on war, ſquandered an almoſt incredible treaſure, of which the late King's rapine and extortion, had left him the poſſeſſion. The Annals of his reign are, for ever, chequered with revels, maſks, and courtly or military pageants. As he advanced in years, this indulgence to ſenſuality increaſed, and he was known to have raiſed perſons to a conſiderable fortune, only for drawing back his chair when they perceived the fire was

 uneaſy

uneaſy to him; or for roaſting a ſucking pig to his palate. Amongſt the various inſtances of juſtice, liberality, and other virtues, which recommended the laudable part of his life, he was never known to have done one ſingle act of clemency. This was attributed to an effeminate diſpoſition of mind, which inclines to cruelty. It was conſtantly obſerved, that he never forgot the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion of offence, and never ſpared whereſoever he apprehended reſiſtance *. His acceſſion had been ſignalized by confirming an Act of grace, which his Father, on his death bed, had granted to all his ſubjects: but the Son excepted thoſe, who under pretence of maintaining the prerogative, had oppreſſed the people: and invited every body to bring in their accuſations againſt them. *Dudley* and *Empſon*, the chief inſtruments of iniquity in the former reign, had ſo ſcreened themſelves by the ſubterfuges of the Law, that though they ſtood convicted in the minds of every Individual of the nation, they could not be legally condemned. In order, therefore, to bring them to puniſhment for crimes, of which they were guilty, they were tried and condemned on a frivolous indictment of treaſon, of which they were innocent. This treſpaſs on juſtice carried, however, in ſome meaſure, its excuſe with it, by delivering up Delinquents, whom the general voice of Mankind had devoted to deſtruction. But the death of the Duke of *Buckingham*, whoſe large revenues were his crime; and of *Edmund*, Earl of *Suffolk*, who was executed without any trial or form of juſtice, and was the effect of the King's apprehenſions from the houſe of *York*, or of reſentment to that Noble-

* Cum cæterarum virtutum ſpeciem aliquam referret. Clementiæ nullum unquam ſignum oſtendit id quod effœminatæ ejus naturæ multi tribuunt, talis enim crudelitatem ſæpe gignit. *Apologia Reginaldi Poli ad Carolum* V. *Cæſarum*, No. 19.

man's

man's Brother, who was in the French ſervice, admitted of no alleviation. This unfortunate Nobleman had ſucceeded to a long deſcent of hereditary honours, and was alſo called *Pole*; but the Achievements of the two Families being entirely different, there is no reaſon to think they had any thing common but their name. Theſe were the Preludes to all thoſe acts of blood, which ſtained this Prince's reign, and gave Sir *Walter Raleigh* occaſion to ſay, that if all the examples of a mercileſs Prince were loſt, they might be found in him." The conſciouſneſs of his perſonal accompliſhments, which were really great, enflamed both his ſelf-conceit and the natural violence of his temper: and from a conſtant gratification of his inclinations, he grew impatient of whatever checked them; and, at laſt, broke through all reſtraints, human and divine. His Father, either through ignorance of what education was fitting for a young Prince of ſuch expectation, or from an ungenerous and ſelfiſh turn of mind, which ſeems to have been the principle of his whole conduct, had diverted his Son's attention from attainments which relate to the proper diſcharge of the duties of Sovereignty, and trained him to the learning of the Schools; to the Logic of *Ariſtotle*, and the Theology of St. *Thomas Aquinas*. A ready genius and reliſh for letters cauſed him to be the declared Protector of all who excelled in them. *Eraſmus*, in a letter to the Elector of *Mentz*, ſays, " that learning triumphed in *England*, and that the King and Queen, the two Cardinals, and almoſt all the Biſhops exerted themſelves in promoting and encouraging it." And in another, of the year 1518, " the King, he ſays, who is the moſt judicious Prince of his age, delights in literature; the Queen is knowing in a degree very uncommon to her Sex; nor leſs commendable for piety than knowledge; and, in general, prudence and erudition

dition are the ſureſt recommendation to the favour of both." He then mentions *Linacre*, the King's Phyſician; *Cuthbert Tunſtal*, Maſter of the Rolls; *Thomas More*, of the Privy Council; *Pace*, Secretary of State; *William Montjoy*, the Queen's Chamberlain; *John Colet*, Preacher to their Majeſties; and as yet, he adds, I have only named the chief. *John Stockter*, who, beſides Scholaſtic Divinity, has an unuſual inſight into the three learned languages, is Clerk of the Cloſet. At length he concludes, "the Court abounds with ſuch eminent men, that it is rather a ſeat of the Muſes than a Palace, and may vie with any School of Philoſophy, with *Athens* itſelf *." It was, ſome years after, honoured with the preſence of *Lewis Vives*, the ſecond *Quintilian* that *Spain* has produced, and who was ſent for from *Flanders* to inſtruct the Princeſs *Mary* in the Latin tongue.

It may be queſtioned if any Court in any age or country could boaſt, at the ſame time, a ſet of ſo many learned men. The teſtimony alone of *Eraſmus*, ſo good a judge, and ſo intimately acquainted with them, will ſatisfy every Reader; but thoſe who are converſant with their character and writings, as I have already ſaid when I had occaſion to mention them, will have no need, even

* Apud Anglos triumphant bonæ litteræ. Rex ipſe cum ſuâ Reginâ, Cardinales ambo, Epiſcopi fere omnes toto pectore tuentur, fovent, alunt, ornantque. *Linacrus* Medicum agit *Cuthbertus Tonſtallus* illi eſt a Scriniis . . . *Thomas Morus* eſt à Conſiliis *Paceus* ab Epiſtolis *Gulielmus Montjoius* Reginæ famulitio præfectus eſt *Johannus Coletus* eſt à ſacris concionibus. Præcipuos duntaxat recenſui. *Johannes Stockterus*, præter Scholaſticam hanc Theologiam, in quâ nemini cedit, trium etiam linguarum haud vulgariter peritus, à ſacris. Hujuſmodi viris ea referta eſt Regia, verius μουσεῖον quàm aula: quas tu Athenas, quam Stoam, aut quod Lyceum ejuſmodi prætuleris aulæ?

Ad Pet. Bembo. Baſiliæ, 1518.

of

of *Erasmus*'s testimony, to be convinced that their merit is equal to what he has said of it.

In all these advantages, with which our Country was privileged, the encouragement given by the King had a principal part. His dispositions, in his happier days, were truly royal: he shewed a high regard to Religion, wherever it was concerned; a sense of piety, and a love of justice: as yet he had given no indication of cruelty, except in the two Noblemen above mentioned. His generosity not only conferred gratuities on such as had deserved them, but invited all who had any claim to excellence, and made no distinction between his own Subjects and Foreigners; and he rewarded merit wherever he found it. On this account several eminent for learning and arts resorted to him, from other Countries, as to the Judge and Patron of what was excellent*. Thus, his general Character, at that period of his life which answers to this part of Reginald's history, placed him on a level with the most popular and plausible Kings.

He received his Kinsman, at his arrival, with every demonstration of esteem and favour: saw him at Court with complacence, and distinguished him on several occasions. He was pleased to bring him acquainted with the merit of his own Subjects, as he had been with that of foreign Princes; and I remember, says Reginald, that in a full drawing-room, addressing his discourse to me, he said, he was of opinion, that, in all my Travels, I had met with no person either in virtue or learning comparable to the Bishop of *Rochester* †. The Queen's regard for him was *Fisher.*
equal to that of the King: for though she had not the same tie of consanguinity, which united him

* Apologia, *Reg. Poli*, ad *Car.* V. §. 14. † Ibid. §. 20.

to her royal Conſort; there was another motive, derived from her own diſpoſitions, no leſs powerful in his favour. That Princeſs had felt all the horrors of the bloody policy by which the death of the Earl of *Warwick* was made a neceſſary ſtipulation to her marriage, and had often ſignified her forebodings of the vengeance which would wait on it. It was apprehended that the title of the Houſe of *York* might one day revive in this young Prince; and *Henry* VII. and *Ferdinand* had got rid of thoſe fears, by an expedient ſuited to both their characters; and by adding the mockery of juſtice to murder, had, on a pretended conſpiracy, taken away the life of a Prince, whoſe only guilt was his relation to the crown. The Queen had already done every thing in her power to atone for the ſin, and repair the injury of ſo foul a deed. The Counteſs of *Saliſbury*, Mother to REGINALD POLE, being Siſter to the unfortunate victim of her Father's jealouſy, ſhe committed the care of the Princeſs *Mary*'s education to her: treated her and all her Children with remarkable affection, and was accuſtomed to ſay, her mind would never be at eaſe, unleſs the Crown reverted again to the Earl of *Warwick*'s family, by a marriage of one of his Siſter's ſons to her daughter; and thus ſome reparation made for the injuſtice done to the Brother: and amongſt all that Lady's numerous offſpring, ſhe had ever ſhewed a predilection to REGINALD. Nor was the conſideration he was held in confined to the Court or his own Family, but he ſoon drew on himſelf the general love and admiration of the whole nation. His high birth, the rank he held in his Sovereign's favour; his extraordinary accompliſhments joined to great affability, a readineſs to oblige, a blameleſs life, and ſingular ſenſe of Religion, were qualities which reflected a luſtre on each other, and made him valuable in proportion as he was known.

HITHERTO

HITHERTO his character had only been approved by the innocence of his manners, and a happy and cultivated genius; but a Scene was now opening, and ſuch a part aſſigned him, as required all the firmneſs and generoſity of a ſoul ſuperior to hope and fear, and every tender feeling of nature. This was the King's divorce from the Queen, which, with reſpect to REGINALD POLE, was one of thoſe trials, to which only the greateſt men are expoſed, and to which they alone are equal. As yet it had been whiſpered only within the walls of the Palace; but now it began to take air, and to be debated by the King's orders: and the ſubject of this work requiring the Reader ſhould be enabled to make a juſt and adequate judgment of it, I ſhall ſet it briefly before him.

HENRY VII. of *England*, and *Ferdinand* of *Spain*, had entered on an alliance with the Emperor, againſt *France*; and in order to cement it more firmly, *Ferdinand* had given his ſecond daughter *Jane* in marriage to *Philip*, ſon of the Emperor *Maximilian*; and *Catharine* the elder to *Arthur*, heir apparent to the Britiſh crown. Neither of theſe matches proved fortunate: *Jane*, in a literal ſenſe, loved her huſband to diſtraction; the violence of her affection having cauſed her to loſe her ſenſes; and *Catharine* became a widow when ſhe was ſcarce a wife. But it being the mutual intereſt of *England* and *Spain* that their union ſhould ſubſiſt, though this tie was broken, a renewal of the alliance was propoſed by marrying *Arthur*'s widow to *Henry*, the King of *England*'s only ſurviving ſon: and the Pope's diſpenſation for it was obtained. But the King, whoſe ruling paſſion was avarice, inſiſted on an augmentation of the ſum which the Princeſs had already brought with her; and *Ferdinand*, who was as unwilling to part with money as *Henry* was greedy of getting it, availed himſelf of the Dower

ſettled on his Daughter, inſiſted on her being ſent back to him, and raiſed other difficulties from pecuniary conſiderations. *Henry*, though he ſaw no other match more ſuitable to his ſon, yet, either to work on *Ferdinand*'s apprehenſions, or for other reaſons, which it ſeems hard to account for, had cauſed the young Prince to enter a proteſt againſt the marriage. However, he went no farther lengths, and the proteſt was not notified to the Princeſs or her Father. In this ſuſpenſe the King died.

THE Council of the new Monarch immediately met to deliberate, if the intended marriage was advantageous to the Realm; if it was not contrary to the divine law; if the Papal diſpenſation was valid; and, laſtly, if any freſh difficulty was riſen from the King's proteſt. Doctor *Warham*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, though, at firſt, averſe to the match, came over to the general opinion of the other Counſellors; and the King having had all the difficulties, which had been propoſed, laid before him, accompliſhed his marriage, with the unanimous conſent of all the States of the Kingdom, on the 3d of *June*, 1509, ſix weeks after his acceſſion. Seventeen years had paſſed before any doubts were raiſed concerning the lawfulneſs of this proceeding. The King, before his nuptials, had profeſſed the higheſt perſonal regard for the Princeſs; and afterwards, frequently declared he had found no reaſon to change his opinion of her *. He had found her a Maid, when he took her to his bed, as he acknowledged to the Emperor, her Nephew, at a time when he had no thoughts of a divorce; and the ſolemn aſſeveration which the Queen made, in open Court, when the fact came to be queſtioned, appealing to God and the King's Conſcience for the truth of what ſhe

* *R. Poli* Apologia, ad *Car.* V. Cæſ.

ſaid,

ſaid, muſt put it beyond all doubt. He had ſeveral children by her, of which the Princeſs *Mary* only was living; and any illegitimacy in her birth had been ſo little dreamt of, that ſhe had, ſucceſſively, been aſked in marriage by the chief crowned heads in *Europe*.

THE pretence for calling the legality of the King's marriage in queſtion, was a prohibition recorded in *Leviticus*, by which the Jews were forbid to marry the Widow of a deceaſed Brother; and it was urged, that this Law was equally binding under the Chriſtian and Moſaical diſpenſation; and being founded on the nature of things, could not be diſpenſed with. This objection had been fully conſidered, when the marriage was in debate; and anſwered, in the following manner, to the entire ſatisfaction of all parties. That the Law in queſtion, even at the time it was enacted, admitted of exceptions, which were not only authoriſed, but even preſcribed, by God himſelf. That the Lawgiver had ſuppoſed the caſe of a man dying without Iſſue, and not only permitted, but commanded his Brother to marry the Widow, on pain of being declared infamous. In this manner the queſtion concerning *Henry*'s marriage would have been of no very difficult ſolution, had the ſearch of truth alone been intended: but the Abettors of a powerful King's paſſion ſo perplexed it, that the heads of men grew giddy in endeavouring to find any meaning of the Law, but the true; and more efforts were made to invalidate one lawful marriage, than had been taken to ratify all the contracts of matrimony ſince its firſt inſtitution.

Deuteron. ch. 25.

THE Queen now began to be in years, and ſubject to infirmities, which frequent miſcarriages had brought on: and her ſtate of health allowed her huſband ſmall hopes of ſeeing her Mother of a Son, of which he was very deſirous. The diſappointed

appointed ambition of *Wolſey* in his views on the Papacy, which he imputed to *Charles* V. had, as I have already ſaid, ſpirited up his revengeful temper againſt the Nephew and the Aunt. The Queen, whoſe character was extremely decent, like that of her Mother, whoſe memory is yet in veneration amongſt the Spaniards, had made no ſecret of her diſapprobation of the Cardinal's behaviour, which was quite unbecoming the purple. The diſpoſition this Miniſter was in, of ſeconding his Maſter's inclinations, however contrary to what duty required of him, as he himſelf confeſſed, when he was going to fall a ſacrifice to the very meaſures he had concerted, had either given birth to the project of the Divorce, or encouraged and flattered the King in it. Another ſpring to theſe proceedings, more powerful than all the reſt, was the influence of *Anne Bullen*, who was lately returned from the French Court, and now began to appear at that of *England*, in the bloom of youth, and with all thoſe blandiſhments, by which art, and a deſire to pleaſe, attract attention. The King, not long after, was ſeized with a violent paſſion for her, which ſhe practiſed every art to inflame, yet refuſed to gratify. But as none of theſe reaſons could be pleaded as arguments for diſſolving his marriage, he alledged a concern for his people on account of the illegitimacy, and, conſequently, the doubtful right of the Princeſs *Mary* to the crown; and an uneaſineſs of conſcience concerning the lawfulneſs of marriage with a Brother's Relict. The earlieſt document which remains of theſe proceedings, is a letter of Secretary *Pace* to the King, in which he informs him, that he had treated with Dr. *Wakefield* of the Divorce, and that the Doctor was ready to reſolve the queſtion, either in the negative or affirmative, juſt as the King thought proper, and in ſuch a manner as all the Divines

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in *England* ſhould not be able to make any reply. This letter is dated in 1526, and, to *Wakefield*'s eternal infamy, is ſtill extant *. *Wolſey* had already engaged *Longland*, Biſhop of *London*, the King's Confeſſor, a well-meaning but weak man, to move this doubt to him. A ſcruple which favours inclination is generally well received, and the Cardinal, who had the merit of raiſing it, propoſed to *Henry*, the Dutcheſs Dowager of *Alençon*, Siſter to the French King; to whoſe intereſts he now endeavoured to attach him. Some time after, *Grammont*, Biſhop of *Tarbes*, the *French* Embaſſador, overcome by the Cardinal's importunities, repreſented to *Henry* that his marriage had given great offence in *France*, and that his conſcience was intereſted in having the lawfulneſs of it dilucidated. This diſcourſe paſſed at *Hampton-Court*, where there had been a Ball, which the King opened with *Anne Bullen*; and he takes notice of it, a year and a half after, in a ſpeech to the Lord Mayor, and the Common Council.

We need go no higher for the motives of *Grammont*'s compliance with *Wolſey*'s requeſt, than the ſituation in which his Maſter now ſtood with reſpect to *England*. The alliance of a great and opulent people was become neceſſary to *France*, in order to counter-balance the arms of *Auſtria*; and *Henry* alone could ſupply the ſum which was to ranſom the *Dauphin*, and his Brother, who, on their Father's releaſe, were detained Priſoners in *Spain*. Reaſons of ſtate are ſuppoſed to exclude, of courſe, all inquiry into the equity or injuſtice of meaſures, and being managed by Churchmen does not always clear them of this cenſure. A Council of Conſcience, as it is termed, is frequently called, that the moſt iniqui-

* *Le Grand*, tom. 3. page 1.

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tous proceedings may ſeem to have had the ſanction of a nice and religious ſcrutiny. Theſe conſiderations engaged *Francis* to ſupport the cauſe of the Divorce both in the Univerſities of his own Kingdom, and at the Court of *Rome*; 1527. and that City being taken, the ſame year, by the imperial army, and the Pope becoming a Priſoner in his own Capital, gave the Kings of *England* and *France* a ſtill more plauſible pretext of uniting againſt the Emperor; and to *Henry* an opportunity of availing himſelf of his good offices to the holy See, and, at the ſame time, of ſolliciting his own cauſe at her ſupreme Court of Judicature. The Engliſh, on this occaſion, had ſignalized their reſpect and attachment to his Holineſs, and the King had ſent him a very liberal remittance. This preſent was accompanied with a letter, in which he teſtifies a readineſs to expoſe his own life in avenging the injury done to God and his Church, in the perſon of her chief Paſtor, and to concur with the French King in any meaſures to prevent the evils which threatened the common cauſe. And *Clement* had no ſooner recovered his liberty, but Secretary *Knight*, and *Caſſali*, an Italian Gentleman and Agent for *Henry*, were the firſt to compliment him on it. He told them, he had not forgot what the King their Maſter, and the Cardinal had done for him in the day of his late diſtreſs, and that his gratitude ſhould be anſwerable to their good offices.

On this they opened their commiſſion, by taking notice of the regard which the Engliſh Kings and nation had ever paid to the Church; and the important ſervices they already had and might ſtill do her: they then repreſented how much it was for the honour and intereſt of the holy See to prevent the misfortunes which hung over the Kingdom, in caſe the King came to die without a male Heir: and, as the Queen was no longer

longer in a condition of bearing Children, they humbly intreated his Holineſs to cauſe the diſpenſation, by which the King had married his Brother's Widow, to be examined. The Pope's anſwer was ſo favourable, that they immediately went to the Cardinal, whom, he ſaid, he ſhould conſult on the affair, and ſhewed him a copy of the diſpenſation. It was drawn up in *England*, and anſwered all the King's purpoſes; but as the Cardinal perceived it could not be granted without caſting an irreparable blemiſh on the reputation of all who were concerned in it; at their requeſt, he drew up another, with which they ſeemed ſatisfied. It enabled the king to marry whoever he thought proper, provided his marriage with the Queen was unlawful, and declared ſuch.

Wolsey, in the mean while, was under an uneaſineſs which he alone could have expreſſed, who felt it. The deſire of avenging himſelf on the emperor had given place to conſiderations of nearer concern to himſelf. *Anne Bullen*, on her firſt coming to *England*, had conceived an averſion to him, for his breaking off, though by the King's orders, a marriage which was on foot between her and young *Piercy*, ſon to the Earl of *Northumberland*. She had, ſince, been informed of his views of giving the *French* King's Siſter to *Henry*; and the high degree of favour ſhe was now in, could brook no Rival in the King's confidence. She hated him, and reſolved his ruin. Theſe extremities made him have recourſe to every induſtry to ſupport a credit which was now in the wane, and was to fill its orb no more. The roads between *England* and *Rome* were taken up by Couriers paſſing to and fro: each day gave birth to ſome new project, and meaſures were no ſooner taken than changed.

Gardiner and *Fox*, who were afterwards promoted to the Sees of *Wincheſter* and *Hereford*, had

had inſtructions not to ceaſe importuning the Pope till he had granted what they aſked. He appointed a congregation of Cardinals to examine the affair; but, whilſt it was diſcuſſing, being, at length, overcome by their importunity he told them to return their maſter the following anſwer. "That, if he was aſſured of the reaſonableneſs and juſtice of his ſuit, he had nothing more to do than to take another Wife. But, at the ſame time he forewarned him of the uſual conſequences of ſuch proceedings: that the Queen would enter a proteſt both againſt the place and the Commiſſioners, if the cauſe was tried in his dominions: that the Emperor, her Nephew, would not fail to require that *Henry* ſhould be prohibited from entering on a ſecond marriage, till the ſuit was ended; and if, notwithſtanding the inhibition, he took this ſtep, the offspring of ſuch an engagement would be illegitimate."

THE general ſenſe of the Nation concurred with the Pope's declaration; and the influence of Royal authority, when the Biſhops were ſummoned to give their opinion, had not prevailed on them to come to a reſolution. This reſiſtance irritated a paſſion it was deſigned to check: it magnified in the King's fancy the charms of his Miſtreſs, and the Queen's infirmities, and made him ſo far overlook decency, as to deſire the Pope might be acquainted with them, and cauſe them to be alledged as ſufficient reaſons for his ſeparation from her.

WHILST the Court and Kingdom, and almoſt all *Europe* were thus agitated by the effects of the King's paſſion, a new character roſe up, who ſoon after, propoſed a ſhorter way to end the debate. As he imagined that Kings have no occaſion for any other rule of action beſides their own will; and their Counſellors nothing to do, but to conſult their inclinations, he inſtructed

Henry

Henry in the arbitrary extent of Prerogative, and became the Inſtrument by which he exerted it. By virtue of theſe principles, the King divorced and married as often, and for what reaſons he thought fit; and, aſſuming an univerſal ſupremacy both in Church and State, had the whole legiſlative power inveſted in himſelf, even by that Parliament, who, by their office, conſtitute a principal part of it. This perſon was *Thomas Cromwell*, afterwards Earl of *Eſſex*, and the King's *Vicar-General*, who had delineated himſelf in ſuch a manner, in a converſation, with REGINALD POLE, of which he has given us the heads, that all other portraits muſt fall ſhort of a piece in which the Artiſt draws himſelf.

"SOME time after my return from *Italy*, ſays REGINALD, I met him in the Cardinal of *York*'s palace, in whoſe ſervice he then was, and, after the uſual compliments, he fell into a diſcourſe on the neceſſary qualifications of thoſe who are called to the Councils of Princes. His motive, I ſuppoſe, was to ſift me concerning the Divorce, which then divided the privy Council, as he knew my opinion of the affair could not fail of being aſked. My anſwer was, that I thought it the duty of every ſuch perſon, above all other conſiderations, to adviſe what was moſt conducing to his Prince's honour and intereſt, and enlarged myſelf, from the dictates of reaſon, and the beſt Authors, on the nature of Virtue, in which both honour and intereſt are grounded. He replied, that theſe notions were very plauſible, when delivered in the Schools or from the Pulpit, but were of little uſe in the Cabinets of Kings; and, if much inſiſted on, inſtead of being favourably heard, would create hatred and averſion to the Adviſer, as they ſeldom fall in with the Prince's inclinations, and are quite foreign to what is practiſed in Courts. That Prudence and Experience chiefly diſcovered them- *Wolſey.*

ſelves

ſelves in propoſing what was ſeaſonable as to time, place, and other circumſtances: that men of letters were often deceived, and fell into diſgrace for want of this knowledge: that thoſe very things which a Prince would hear with approbation from a Preacher, would be rejected by him with diſdain, if urged as the rule of his proceedings: that this was a Science which the Univerſities did not teach, and, therefore, thoſe who came raw from them to the Council-board, were liable to great overſights. He ſtrengthened what he was ſaying by the example of ſeveral, who, becauſe they would not depart from the principles they had imbibed there, had forfeited their Prince's favour, were become uſeleſs, or had brought ruin on themſelves and families. From whence he concluded, that the chief concern of a perſon in this ſtation, ſhould be to ſtudy his Prince's inclinations, in which much ſagacity was required, as they ſometimes lie diſguiſed under appearances of a very different import: that it became Kings to uſe the ſpecious names of religion, equity, and other virtues, though their deſigns were not always regulated by them: that true ability lay in diſcovering what theſe real intentions were; and, then, in managing affairs in ſuch ſort as they might obtain their ends, and yet no open failure in religion or probity be obſerved: and that this ability was ſeen in proportion as the Miniſter could reconcile the appearances of virtue, which Princes were unwilling to give up, with the ſubſtantial intereſt of the ſtate. That this was a compendious way to ſecure favour and authority with them, and to be uſeful to one's ſelf and others.

"THIS was the ſum of *Cromwell*'s diſcourſe, which was long; from whence I gathered, that, if he really thought as he ſpoke, and had been *Nero*'s Counſellor, when the murder of his Mother was

was in debate; he, who acknowledged no law, when his Prince's inclination was to be gratified, and made religion and integrity bend to it, would not have been at a loſs to juſtify that parricide. However, I made no reply to this barefaced impiety, and only ſaid, I imagined he had entered on the diſcourſe for argument ſake, and did not mean to deliver his real ſentiments. He made no apology for any thing he had advanced; but perceiving, as well he might, both from my countenance and ſome words which dropped from me, that I was rather diſpleaſed than taken with his Politics, he replied, it was no wonder, if having, as yet, little uſe of public affairs, I did not comprehend what experience alone could teach; eſpecially as it did not agree with thoſe tenets, in which I had been brought up: but now, as I had done with books and retirement, if I would mix in public life and give myſelf to buſineſs, I ſhould ſee how wide a difference there was between the maxims of real policy, and thoſe idle ſpeculations, on which men, who have nothing elſe to do, deſcant in the Schools: that theſe were very unſkilful Teachers of an Art, which could be learnt from Practice only; and that a ſhort diſcourſe of an experienced perſon was more to the purpoſe than whole Volumes of ſuch Philoſophers: that if I needs muſt have books, I ſhould, at leaſt, read thoſe who allow more to experience than to ſpeculation: that he had one of a very acute Modern, who did not, like *Plato*, publiſh his own dreams, and draw up the plan of a Commonwealth, which, for ſo many ages, had never been reduced to practice, but had laid down maxims and obſervations, of which daily experience confirmed the truth: and, if I would give him leave, and promiſe to read the book, he would ſend it me: that he had a great regard for me, and foreſaw to what difficulties I ſhould be

expoſed, if I let myſelf be carried away by notions of men unacquainted with the world, though otherwiſe, ever ſo learned; and had not a greater deference to thoſe who had joined eminent parts to a habit of buſineſs. Having thanked him for his civilities, and promiſed to read the Work, we parted.

"Soon after, the King not finding that compliance with his deſires, even in thoſe who were thought to have given occaſion to them, which he expected, began to make uſe of this man's ill-fated abilities, and admit him to his moſt ſecret deliberations; and, then, the converſation, which had paſt between us, was a ſeaſonable warning to me to fly an unhoſpitable ſhore. If any thing could give me a greater inſight into his Character, it was the book itſelf, he ſo much extolled, though never ſent me, I imagine he already repented having laid himſelf ſo open; but being informed of his private readings by thoſe who were acquainted with them, I procured the Work, and was as eager to peruſe it, as any one could be to intercept diſpatches which diſcovered the deſigns of an Enemy. On reading it, I found, in effect, every ſtratagem by which religion, juſtice, and good faith were to be defeated, and every human and divine virtue become a prey to ſelfiſhneſs, diſſimulation, and falſehood. It was wrote by one *Machiavel*, a native of *Florence*, and intitled, *Il principe.* *On the Art of Government*; and is ſuch a performance, that was *Satan* himſelf to leave a Succeſſor, I do not well ſee by what other maxims he would direct him to reign *."

He then goes on to give an Abridgment of the work, which had not been publiſhed many years; and, perhaps, owes its firſt appearance, as well as approbation in this kingdom, to the

* Apol. *Reg. Poli*, §. 29. et ſeq.

King's

King's Vicar-General in Spirituals. But a detail of this ſubject belongs to another place, and ſhall be related from the ſame unexceptionable Author.

As yet, He had not been called on to give his opinion of the Divorce; his ſtudies having been of that kind which form a polite Scholar, not a Divine; his years, alſo, might not appear ſufficiently ripe for ſuch a diſcuſſion: and the cauſe being now before the Biſhop of *Rome*, its proper Judge, he was ſo far from any obligation of foreſtalling the ſentence, that ſilence was both more prudent aud reſpectful. He waited, therefore, the occaſion to declare himſelf, when his diſcretion could as little be called in queſtion as his fortitude.

NOTWITHSTANDING the privilege of ſuch a ſituation, and the ſunſhine of royal favour which ſtill encompaſſed him, he reſolved to withdraw from it. The Court was become a Scene of intrigue, to which his breaſt was a ſtranger. He was a conſtant witneſs to the wanderings of a Prince, to whom he had the higheſt obligations, and whom he loved with all the ſincerity of a loyal and thankful heart. Nor would his integrity and gratitude allow him to intereſt himſelf leſs in the caſe and honour of the Queen, who was now treated with coldneſs and diſregard. However, that this retreat might not give offence, or draw on him his Prince's diſpleaſure, he alledged a deſire of proſecuting his Studies where he would meet with fewer avocations; and obtained his Majeſty's conſent to go to the *Carthuſians* at *Shene*, where he had paſſed ſeveral years of his youth, and where there was a very handſome houſe, and every thing fitted to his purpoſe within the incloſure of that Monaſtery.

THIS building was raiſed by Doctor *John Colet*; a name too reſpectable to be ſlightly paſſed over

on this occaſion. He was ſon to Sir *Henry Colet*, Lord Mayor of *London*, and was firſt ſent to *Oxford*, and from thence to the Univerſity of *Paris*, and laſtly, for the ſtudy of the Canon Law, to *Padua*. He had made *Tully* familiar to him from his childhood, and was very converſant in the writings of the Fathers, and particularly in the holy Scriptures, of which the commentaries he has left are an abundant proof. On returning to his Country he explained Saint *Paul*'s epiſtles at *Oxford*, to the univerſal ſatisfaction of his Audience, and chiefly of *Eraſmus*, who was then at the Univerſity, and conſtantly attended his lectures. Being, afterwards, appointed Preacher to the Court, he continued his lectures in St. *Paul*'s church with equal applauſe; and, amongſt other excellencies, is ſaid to have had the advantage of a graceful perſon and elocution above any perſon of his age. *Henry* VII. had conferred on him the Deanery of that Cathedral, and he employed the income of this and his other benefices in founding near it, a free School for 153 poor mens Children, with a Salary for a Chaplain, Maſter, and Uſher. He died in the year 1519, being only fifty three years old, and his body was found in a leaden Coffin in the wall of that Church in 1680. *Eraſmus* always ſpeaks of him as one of the moſt polite geniuſes, able Divines, and beſt men in *England*; and that he had, for thirty years, lamented no death ſo much as his. In a letter to the Biſhop of *Hereford*, having given, at that Prelate's requeſt, a ſhort ſketch of his friend's life, he has the following paſſage concerning the houſe which REGINALD choſe for his retirement. "Several perſons, ſays he, wondered he ſhould build ſo ſtately a fabric within the incloſure of the *Carthuſians*, which is not far from *Richmond* Palace. His anſwer was, that he deſigned it as a retreat for his old age, when either broken

broken with years, or unfit for buſineſs, he ſhould be under a neceſſity to withdraw from the eyes of the public: and that it was his deſire to enjoy there the ſociety of two or three choſen friends, amongſt whom he uſed to place me: but death prevented that Scheme from taking effect *.

THE Writers of REGINALD's life have given us no particulars of the two years he paſſed here; nor are there any letters or other pieces to throw any light on the ſubject. We are informed, in general, that this ſolitude anſwered the two purpoſes for which he had made choice of it; to perfect himſelf in literature, and not be a Spectator of proceedings which he could not but condemn.

HE had not been long at *Shene* when the Court and the whole Kingdom were thrown into a ſtrange conſternation at the breaking out of the ſweating ſickneſs, the fatal conſequences of which have been recorded by our Hiſtorians. This peſtilential *Ephemera* was a fever of one day, and the patient died or recovered within twenty-four hours after he was ſeized. It firſt appeared in *Henry* the ſeventh's army at their landing from *France* at *Milford-Haven*, in the year 1483, and afflicted *England* ſix ſeveral times within the ſpace of 68 years. On the third return, in 1517, it was ſo violent that it uſually killed in three hours time, and in ſome towns it ſwept away half the inhabitants. In the year 1551, which was its laſt appearance, it began in *Shrewſbury*, where, in a

* Multi mirabantur quòd magnificas ædes extruxerit intra pomaria Monaſterii *Carthuſienſium*, quod non procul abeſt à regiâ quæ dicitur *Richmonda:* Aiebat, ſe parare ſedem illam ſuæ ſenectuti, cùm jam impar laboribus, aut morbo fractus cogeretur ſe ſubmovere ab hominum conſortio. Illic erat animus philoſophari cum duobus aut tribus amiculis eximiis, inter quos me ſolitus eſt numerare; ſed mors antevertit. *Epiſt.* p. 435.

few days, it deſtroyed near a thouſand perſons, and from thence ſpread itſelf over all *England*. It conſtantly began with the warm weather, and ceaſed at the approach of winter. After the firſt viſit, it diſappeared during the ſpace of two years only; one and twenty, after the ſecond; eleven, after the third and fourth; and then was three and twenty years before it broke out again, and has never been heard of ſince either in our own or any other country. There was ſomething ſo peculiar in the infection, that the Engliſh alone were liable to it. Foreigners who were amongſt us, and even the Scotch, who inhabit the ſame Iſland, were exempt: and it attacked the Engliſh in other Countries, whilſt it ſpared the Natives. Doctor *Cajus*, our learned Countryman, who was a ſtudent at *Padua* about the time I am ſpeaking of, has given us his conjectures concerning the cauſe of this particularity *. His obſervation, however, that Foreigners who were then in *England*, were not ſeized with it, admitted of exceptions.

Bellay, Biſhop of *Bayonne*, the French Embaſſador at the Engliſh Court, was one of them, and ſent the following account to *Anne* of *Montmorency*, high Steward to the *French* King's Houſehold. "One of Mrs. *Anne Bullen*'s women, ſays he, was taken ill of the ſweating ſickneſs, 18th *June*. on *Tueſday* laſt: on this the King removed to a ſeat twelve miles diſtant from *London*; and the Lady, as I am told, was ſent to her Father's in *Kent*.—As yet, his paſſion for her is not abated: I cannot ſay what effects abſence and the difficulties he meets with from *Rome*, may produce.—This diſtemper began to appear four days ago, and

* *Cajus*, de Ephemerâ Britannicâ.—Doctor *Hilary*'s Inquiry into the Method of improving Medical Knowledge, page 593.

affords

affords the eaſieſt kind of death imaginable: the help even of Phyſicians is not neceſſary. A ſlight head ach, and ſickneſs at ſtomach is followed by ſweating, and if the patient is kept too warm, or not warm enough, he dies in four, and, ſometimes, in two or three hours, without further trouble. About two thouſand have already been taken with it. Yeſterday, as I was going to ſign the ſuſpenſion of arms, I beheld an incredible number of people leave the ſtreets and the ſhops, and make all the haſte they could to their houſes, to ſweat, as ſoon as they found themſelves ill. The Prieſts have their hands as full as the Phyſicians, and are not numerous enough to bury the dead. The like diſeaſe raged here twelve years ago, and carried off, as I am informed, ten thouſand perſons in ten or twelve days: and yet was not ſo contagious as it now is. My Lord Legate came up to keep Term, but left the town immediately, and there will be neither Term nor Sittings. Every body is in the utmoſt conſternation."—In another diſpatch he writes thus; "The Lady is ſtill at her Father's: the King continues to remove from one place to another, to ſhun the infection: a conſiderable number are dead of it in three or four hours. All the Lords of the Bedchamber, except one, have already been, or are actually ill of it. The king keeps himſelf ſhut up alone. The contagion is as rife in the Legate's family: thoſe who only put their hands out of bed, for the four and twenty hours after they are taken ill, become ſtiff like a piece of mortar. Yet, after all, the perſons who do not expoſe themſelves to the air, eſcape; and, whatever reports may have been ſpread, of eleven thouſand, who have died of the diſtemper, two thouſand only have died." Towards the end of the Letter, "the King, ſays he, perceiving it was to no purpoſe to change place, has at length, fixed his reſidence at

Cardinal *Wolſey*, who was Chancellor.

30th *June*.

Hampton-Court. a houſe built by my Lord Legate about twenty miles from hence. I am credibly informed he has made his Will, and received the Sacraments of Penitence and the holy Euchariſt, not to be taken unawares. He has not, however, been ill, and, if he ſhould, which God forbid, I do not 22d *July.* foreſee he would run any great riſk."—In a third Diſpatch, he ſays, "the diſeaſe begins to abate in *London*, and to get ground in places where it has not yet been felt; and, at preſent, rages in *Kent*. Mrs. *Bullen* and her Father have had it, but are out of danger. On the day that the Sweating took me, at the Archbiſhop's of *Canterbury*, eighteen of the family died within four hours. I was almoſt the only perſon who ſurvived, and am not yet quite recovered. The King is retired to a greater diſtance, and, though he hopes to eſcape, he takes all precautions againſt what may happen: confeſſes himſelf every day; and receives the bleſſed Sacrament on all Feſtivals. The Queen, who is with him, does the ſame; and my Lord Legate, at his reſidence. The Lawyers have lately had full employment; I believe a hundred thouſand Wills have been made; for thoſe who die of this diſtemper, loſe their ſenſes, when it begins to come to a head. I have ſent his Majeſty's compliments of condolence, on this occaſion, to the King, his Brother; and to my Lord Legate, and doubt not of their being well received."

But as the effects of mere fear are not more laſting than the danger which occaſioned them; for though it checks the action, it leaves the diſpoſitions juſt as they were; this apprehenſion was no ſooner over, but Mrs. *Anne Bullen* appeared again on the Scene, as before: on which the Embaſſador expreſſes himſelf to the High Steward in theſe words; "to tell you my mind, the King's affections are ſo deeply engaged, that nothing

thing leſs powerful than the hand of God can reſcue him." This miracle, however, was ſo far from being wrought in his favour, that "Mrs. *Bullen* had an apartment adjoining to the King's, fitted up with the higheſt luxury, and more court paid her than to the partner of his throne." "I ſuppoſe, adds the Embaſſador, he has a mind to inure his people to patience, and prepare them for the ſtroke he meditates. He continues hardened, and would proceed to greater extremities, was his power leſs limited."—Theſe were the Preludes to an Event, which not only involved all His future life, whoſe Hiſtory I write, but was permitted by the unſearchable counſels of Providence, to cauſe a total ſubverſion of that Religion which He afterwards reſtored.

In the mean time, the Court of *Rome*, prevailed on by the entreaties of *Wolſey*, and the indefatigable induſtry of *Fox* and *Gardiner*, had carried her condeſcenſion to *Henry* as far as even the appearances of equity would allow. He had teſtified a great deſire that the cauſe of the Divorce might be tried within his own kingdom: this was granted; and it was no ſooner known that *Campegio* and *Wolſey* were appointed Judges, but the iſſue of the Suit was, by the public voice, given in his favour. The former was eſteemed one of the ableſt Canoniſts and Negociators of thoſe times: he was perſonally known to the King, and had been gratified by him, ſeveral years before, with the Biſhoprick of *Saliſbury*. And ſo many motives concurred to intereſt *Wolſey*, who was joined in the commiſſion, in bringing it to the concluſion the King deſired, that it is needleſs to inſtance any.

The Pope, to give the King a further mark of his regard, had ſent a proviſional Decree, every way favourable to the Divorce, but which was to be ſeen by him and *Wolſey* alone, and then committed

mitted to the flames. As to the particulars, whether it was any more than a draught, and whether the King ever ſaw it, is yet a ſecret, and nothing but conjectures, which amuſe and deceive, can be offered on the ſubject*.

The diſtruſts of *Wolſey*, with reſpect to his own ſafety, increaſed in proportion as this great affair ſeemed to draw on to a concluſion. And now his bewildered imagination ſuggeſted an expedient, which haſtened the deſtruction he endeavoured to ſhun. He foreſaw, that however the caſe in debate turned out, he was a loſt man. If it failed of ſucceſs, he would be reproached with having engaged his Prince in a purſuit, and wanting zeal or ability to extricate him. If the Divorce was obtained, he was threatened with an equal diſaſter from Her elevation, on whom the King had fixed her future choice. In this perplexity he repreſented to *Henry*, in a long and earneſt diſcourſe, all the inconveniencies which were likely to attend the whole affair, and conjured him by every motive which the ſituation of his own concerns, and the King's honour and eaſe could furniſh him with, to lay aſide any further thought of it. *Henry* heard him with paſſion and diſdain, and treated him in ſuch a manner, as confirmed all the miſgivings of his own mind.

* Lord *Herbert*, in his Life of *Henry* VIII. mentions a very ancient Copy of this Bull, by which the Pope obliges himſelf to ratify the ſentence of his Legates, and to admit of no appeal from it. His Lordſhip owns, this Copy may not be authentic, and that it is probable, the Pope granted ſomething more. This is the conjecture of this Nobleman, which can never be verified. The ſtyle in which the Pope, ſoon after, wrote to his Legates, is utterly inconſiſtent with ſuch a conceſſion. *Gardiner*, in his treatiſe *Of true Obedience*, where he omits nothing that can invalidate the papal authority, takes no notice of any ſuch grant; nor is it mentioned by any of thoſe Authors who wrote in favour of the Divorce, in 1530, and the two following years.

CAMPEGIO was now arrived, and had ſignified to the King, at a public Audience, the Pope's grateful ſentiments of the good offices he had received from him in his late diſtreſs; and aſſured him, that, on all occaſions, and particularly on that which was under deliberation, he ſhould experience whatever a deſerving Son could expect from an indulgent and liberal Father.—But in their private conferences he exhorted him according to the inſtructions he had brought from *Rome*, to deſiſt from the deſign of parting with the Queen; and repreſented the injury he would do to his reputation, the misfortunes that would enſue to the common cauſe of Chriſtianity, the broils he muſt engage in with the Emperor, and the ſlender ſuccour he could expect from *France*.

THOUGH this remonſtrance made no impreſſion on *Henry*, yet no favour could be ſhewn him whilſt the Queen perſiſted to demand juſtice: and his impatience, after ſeveral uſeleſs attempts to bring her into his meaſures, not allowing him to wait the ſentence of the Legates, he ſent Sir *Francis Bryant*, and *Vannes* to *Rome*, who were followed ſoon after, by the Doctors *Knight* and *Benet*. The commiſſion was as extraordinary as ever Agents were charged with: and mankind were informed from a King of *England*, if other examples had been wanting, how far the wildneſs of looſe deſire can tranſport a perſon, who thinks he may attempt whatever he imagines he can compaſs. Their inſtructions were to aſk the Pope, as of their own motion, to permit the King to marry again, in caſe the Queen entered on a Monaſtic life; and to legitimate the offspring of both beds. If that was refuſed, then to deſire him, to approve the King's taking on him a religious profeſſion in order to induce the Queen to do the ſame; and when they had both made their vows, to diſpenſe with *Henry*, and enable him to marry again.

If

If this propoſal was rejected, they were to make another; and petition that the King might have two Wives, of which there were ſeveral precedents under the *Levitical* law; and that the children of each might be deemed lawfully begotten.—If the Pope diſapproved of theſe overtures, they were inſtructed to mingle threats with their petitions; and inſinuate, that his own election to the Papacy might be called in queſtion, and the authority hitherto acknowledged in his See, diſowned.

The Pope replied with no leſs temper than prudence, "that it would but ill become the King of *England* to riſe up againſt that authority which he had ſupported by his own writings; that if the Nation withdrew herſelf from the obedience of the Church; if ſhe cauſed a Schiſm, or fell into Hereſy, the King would be accountable, not he. That he had nothing to reproach himſelf with on that head, and having, hitherto, followed what duty preſcribed, he would continue to do ſo."—He wrote to *Campegio*, ſoon after, "that though his good will for the King was very ſincere, yet he would not betray his conſcience, or violate the laws of juſtice: that all the demands of this Prince were ſo unreaſonable, that he could grant none of them without giving the higheſt offence to the whole Chriſtian World, and that the Emperor and King of *Hungary* inſiſted on the cauſe being tried at *Rome*, and that he found it difficult to deny ſo reaſonable a requeſt.

Whilst theſe things paſſed at *Rome*, every thing in *England* ſeemed in readineſs for the deciſion of the Cauſe. After ſeveral hearings, a Patent paſſed the Great Seal on the laſt of *May*, by which the King and Queen were ſummoned to
1529. appear before the Legates, on the eighteenth of the following Month. In this interval the Council for the King had alledged, at different ſittings of the Court, every argument which ſubtlety could ſuggeſt,

ſuggeſt, to prove the forgery of the Original of the Diſpenſation which the Queen had procured from *Spain*, and which was more ample than that on which the Legates would have tried the Cauſe. The Managers for the Queen had not only replied to the objections, but had proved the piece to be genuine with ſuch evidence, and from ſo many circumſtances, that the Judges, notwithſtanding their willingneſs to pleaſe the King, did not think proper to give Sentence againſt it. They had recourſe, therefore, to another expedient, which was to write privately to the Pope, that the affair might be decided at *Rome*, as the eminence of that Tribunal was beſt ſuited to its difficulty and importance.

In the mean while the proceedings of the court went on in their uſual courſe, and on the day appointed for the King's and Queen's appearance, the King's Council preſented the letters of Attorney, by which they were empowered to act in his name. But the Queen tho' ſhe had named her Council, appeared in perſon, and having declared ſhe could not acknowledge the Legates for her Judges, ſhe required her proteſt ſhould be regiſtered: on which the Legates roſe and adjourned the Court.

At the following ſitting, the King and Queen 21ſt *June*.
appeared both in perſon, and the King having anſwered to the citation, the Queen came from her ſeat, and caſting herſelf at his feet, "beſought him to have pity on her and to do her juſtice: that ſhe was a helpleſs woman, and a ſtranger, born out of his dominions, without friends or adviſers: that ſhe was ignorant in what ſhe had offended him, and cauſed him to put her away. She called the ſupreme Being to witneſs, ſhe had ever been a faithful and humble wife, always conforming herſelf to his will and pleaſure, without gainſaying, or ſo much as ſhowing a diſcontented

counte-

countenance: ſhe had loved thoſe who loved him, whatever their diſpoſitions were in her regard; ſhe had borne him children, and been his wife twenty years. That ſhe was a Virgin, when he took her to the marriage-bed, ſhe appealed to God and his own conſcience; and if the fact was otherwiſe, ſhe was content to be put from him with ſhame. The Kings, their Fathers, ſhe ſaid, were eſteemed very wiſe Princes, and could not be ſo overſeen in this match; and how came men to be now more learned and knowing than they had been in their days? That it muſt ſeem ſtrange to her to have her marriage called in queſtion after ſo many years, and ſuch artifice uſed againſt one whoſe intentions had always been upright. Alas, Sir, ſaid ſhe, I am wronged, and have no Council to ſpeak for me but ſuch as are your ſubjects; I humbly beſeech you to ſtay theſe proceedings till I have advice from Spain. If not, your Grace's pleaſure be done." Having ſaid this, and made a low obeiſance, ſhe went out of the Court, and tho' called upon, refuſed to return.

The King ſeemed almoſt as much affected by her ſpeech as any of thoſe who were preſent, and declared "he had no reaſon to complain of her: that her virtue could not be ſufficiently commended; and that he would be content to live on with her, if his conſcience allowed him ſo to do." But notwithſtanding this declaration in her favour, his proceedings againſt her were not leſs iniquitous. Her actions were pryed into and conſtrued with malignity; and a long and lying memorial of her miſdemeanors was drawn up by the Council, which concluded by humbly intreating his Majeſty to have no further Intercourſe with her, and to forbid the Princeſs her daughter to ſee her. It may be preſumed that Princes and their Miniſters can ſtand in need of nothing more to deter them from actions ſo unworthy their high ſtation, than

their

their own feelings with reſpect to thoſe who have been guilty of them, and the aſſurance that impartial poſterity will judge them with the ſame rigour.

WHILST theſe meaſures were taking to intimidate the Queen, the Legates employed entreaties and remonſtrances to gain her. On one of theſe viſits, being at work with her Women, "ſhe thanked them for their good will, and ſaid ſhe would give them a hearing, tho' ſhe imagined they came on a buſineſs, which required much deliberation, and a brain ſtronger than hers. You ſee, ſays ſhe, my employment (and ſhowed them a Skain of thread about her neck) in this I ſpend my time with my maids, who, indeed, are none of the ableſt counſellors; yet I have no other in *England*; and *Spain*, where there are, on whom I could rely, God knows, is far off." She then repeated the ſubſtance of what ſhe had ſaid in Court, and added, that thoſe facts were ſufficient Vouchers of the lawfulneſs of her marriage, and her own uprightneſs, if any thing could be ſo againſt the blaſt of malice.—Then addreſſing her ſelf to *Wolſey*, "I can impute, ſaid ſhe, my miſfortunes to none but you, my Lord of *York*. I now ſuffer becauſe I could not away with your pride, your riot, whoredom and oppreſſions. For part of your hatred I am beholden to my Nephew, the Emperor; whom, becauſe, he would not ſatisfy your inſatiable ambition in advancing you to the Papacy, you have, ever ſince, ſought to deſpite. You threatened to be revenged on him and his Friends, and you have performed your promiſe. You have been the only incendiary and plotter of all the miſchief and wars againſt him theſe late years: and, at preſent, you wreck your vengeance on me for being his Aunt. God only knows, my Lord Cardinal, how much I ſuffer, he will be your Judge and mine."—*Wolſey* being

being about to reply, ſhe would not hear him; and though ſhe behaved to *Campegio* with great civility, yet ſhe declared ſhe acknowledged neither of them for her Judges; perſiſted in her appeal; and, from that time, though often cited, ſhe appeared no more in the Court.

THE ſittings ſtill continuing, the Witneſſes, who were about ſeven and twenty, were examined. They had been garbled chiefly out of the Kinſmen or Creatures of the King and Mrs. *Anne Bullen.* The Facts, to which they depoſed, were the age of Prince *Arthur* and the Lady *Catharine*, at their marriage; the conſummation of the marriage; and *Henry*'s proteſt, in his Father's life time, againſt his affiance with the Queen. The
17th *July.* depoſitions being heard, the nullity of the papal diſpenſation was inſiſted on; but the Legates not judging the proofs ſufficient, came to no reſolu-
23d *July.* tion. At the laſt hearing, when the Court was thronged, and every one big with expectation of the ſentence, to which they were perſuaded the Judges would now proceed, *Campegio*, who all along had acted as Chief in the whole commiſſion, prorogued the Court to the month of *October.* The reaſons he aſſigned for ſo doing, were the Queen's refuſal to have the cauſe tried in *England*, and to acknowledge the Legates for her Judges: the neceſſary time required to reviſe the depoſitions: and the Rules of the Roman Court of Judicature, to which he was obliged to conform: and he affirmed, on his character, what he ſaid to be true. Soon after this declaration, the Pope notified to the Legates, that he had ordered the cauſe to be tried at *Rome*, and cited the King and Queen to appear there; on which information the Legantine Court was diſſolved, and *Campegio* ſet out for *Italy*.

REGINALD POLE had been no otherwiſe concerned in theſe tranſactions than his regard for the

King,

King, and the common cauſe of his Country's welfare engaged his diſapprobation of them. The reaſons already mentioned exempted him from any neceſſity of appearing in them; and a diſtant habitation from the Court, which the foreſight of theſe broils had cauſed him to make choice of, together with a temper which ſought retirement, when duty did not call him forth to action, had, from any thing that appears, kept him, hitherto, clear of an affair, with which the Public was now entirely taken up. He had paſſed two years at *Shene*, in as great tranquillity as the Criſis would admit, and had employed them to thoſe purpoſes, which might enable him to ſerve his country with ſucceſs. Being ſenſible, however, that he ſhould be no longer indulged in this neutral ſtate, than the King's capriciouſneſs, or the ſuggeſtion of a favourite did not find ſome pretext to make him a party in what was now become a general debate, he thought of withdrawing himſelf at a greater diſtance from proceedings, the conſequences of which he might ſhun, though he could not prevent. As the Courts of *England* and *France* were now in the ſtricteſt amity, the jealous temper of his Prince was likely to take leſs umbrage at his going, for a time, to that Kingdom, than to any other. He entered on this meaſure with ſuch circumſpection, as not to incur any abatement of the King's good will, and having ſignified an inclination to viſit the Univerſity of *Paris*, which he had not yet ſeen, *Henry*, though, at firſt, he ſhewed an unwillingneſs, yet, afterwards, he granted his requeſt with a good grace, and continued the former marks of his bounty, which he had conferred on him during his ſtay at *Padua*.

The French Embaſſador, *Bellay*, notified Reginald's journey to his Court in the moſt honourable terms, and informed the Count of *Montmorency*, the high Steward, "that, this young 4th *October*, 1529.

Nobleman was nearly related to the King, and one of the moſt learned perſonages of the age: that, his view was to ſee *France*, and continue his ſtudies; that, *Henry* had ordered him to pay his reſpects to to the King; and that his Family, who were perſons of great merit and the firſt quality, deſired he might be particularly recommended to him." The manner in which he mentions the Officers of REGINALD's houſhold, ſhews that he lived not with dignity only, but ſplendour.

THE Divorce being now before that Tribunal, to which all cauſes of ſuch importance were wont to be referred, nothing more was to be done, but to wait the deciſion. The King, however, foreſeeing the little proſpect of ſucceſs, gave a freſh inſtance of that inſincerity, with which he had all along acted. He imagined a pecuniary influence might purchaſe of the Schools what it had failed of at the Court of *Rome*; and ſent his Agents to have the opinion of the moſt celebrated Univerſities, that is, to buy their votes. In his own dominions, his inclinations were ſupported by rewards and hopes of preferment; by the known violence of his humour, and a kind of deſpotiſm, of which, like an Eaſtern Monarch, he had now poſſeſſed himſelf; and, in foreign Countries, by large ſums, which were employed to prevail on thoſe who preferred lucre to honour and conſcience. Several particulars of this venal proſtitution have been tranſmitted down in ſo ſhameful and ridiculous a detail as to raiſe both indignation and laughter.—Nor was the queſtion to be ſubmitted to the examination of Catholic Divines only: the Proteſtant Doctors of *Germany* were likewiſe to be conſulted; and it muſt be acknowledged, to their honour, "that though political reaſons might have biaſſed them towards a compliance to the King of *England* and his Miſtreſs, who was ſuſpected to be a *Lutheran*, yet they choſe to act uprightly,

uprightly, and give their real ſentiments, though in favour of a Prince, (*Charles* V.) who was their adverſary *."

THIS irregularity of *Henry*'s proceeding gave great offence to the judicious of thoſe times, as it not only transferred one of thoſe cauſes, whoſe deciſion the common conſent of the Chriſtian world had reſerved to the See of *Rome*, to the wranglings and uncertainties of the Schools; but becauſe it corrupted the principles of thoſe places, from whence both the civil and ſacred Magiſtrate is taken, and taught them to look on genius and learning as lucrative ware, and a means not to inſtruct Mankind, but miſlead them †.

THE reputation of the Univerſity of *Paris* was very high, and *Henry* particularly deſirous it ſhould declare for the Divorce; and his Kinſman being there, he ſent him orders to conſult the Doctors, and uſe his beſt endeavours to intereſt them in his favour. What his ſentiments were on receiving this commiſſion, and in what manner he executed it, we learn from an account of his whole conduct in this affair, which he wrote ſome years after, to the King, when She, on whoſe account he now moved heaven and earth, had finiſhed her life on a Scaffold; and he had broken through every reſtraint which could withſtand any of his appetites. —He begins with obſerving, " that the averſion which the King's ſubjects had to theſe meaſures, was greater than that of Foreigners, as their affection to him was more ſincere; and they more grieved to have ſuch inſtances of obedience exacted of them, as could not be ſubmitted to but with he higheſt diſhonour. Amongſt theſe, ſays he, I may very well rank myſelf, and call God to witneſs, I never received ſo ſenſible a ſtroke as

* *Larrey*, Hiſt. *Ang.* l. 2. p. 295. † Apolog. brev. pro R. *Catharina*; *Lunebourg*, 1532.

from the diſgraceful commiſſion ſent me when I was at *Paris*; eſpecially as I had retired thither that I might have no ſhare in deliberations which were carrying on againſt the King's honour and intereſt, within his own palace, under his directions, and by his authority."—He ſays, " he had vainly hoped, that the decency which the king owed himſelf, would not have ſuffered him to allow ſtrangers to meddle in a concern which ought never to have come to their cognizance.—That, as ſoon as the trouble he was in, would permit him, he excuſed himſelf on account of want of experience, and begged that ſome perſon, more converſant in the queſtion, might be entruſted with it.—That, the King immediately complied with his deſire; and, if he had not, there was no kind of death which would not have been more welcome to him than ſuch an employment. That, he never took it on himſelf, though, for a time, he ſuffered the proceedings to go on in his name, as there was another joined in the commiſſion, who did all the buſineſs, of which he had declared he had not a competent knowledge. That, he might with truth plead this excuſe; not, indeed, from any ignorance of the caſe, but becauſe the clearer inſight he had of it, the leſs he knew how to act as he was deſired."

He then goes on to ſhew, " how inexcuſable the King was in pretending that a diſpenſation to marry his Brother's Widow was invalid, at the ſame time that he was ſuing for one, which would enable him to marry a perſon, whoſe Siſter he had corrupted, provided the nullity of his former marriage could be proved." This he advances in a treatiſe inſcribed to the King, and delivered to him on the part of the noble Author, by one of his Gentlemen. He aſſerts it as a known truth; and, indeed, had ſuch an imputation been ſlander, or even of doubtful report, it would have been

been utterly unworthy and inconſiſtent with his character who relates it; and muſt have raiſed the clamour not only of the Engliſh, but of all foreigners againſt him. It ought, at the ſame time, to be remarked, that as he gives not the leaſt inſinuation of any looſeneſs of behaviour in *Anne Bullen*, before *Henry*'s paſſion for her, or of a criminal commerce between her Mother and the King, of which ſhe has been ſaid to be the fruit, theſe reports are to be looked on as deſtitute of foundation. Had the facts been real, they would not have eſcaped the knowledge of one ſo well informed; nor been overlooked in a work, where every aggravation, which regards this article is ſet forth in all its iniquity, and heightened with all the colouring that indignation and eloquence can give. All he ſays of her amounts to a ſarcaſm, "that ſhe muſt needs be chaſte, as ſhe choſe to be the King's Wife, rather than his Miſtreſs; but that ſhe might have learnt, how ſoon he was ſated with thoſe who had belonged to him in the latter quality; and, if other examples were wanting, that of her own Siſter was enough *."

In another place of the ſame work, having expoſtulated with him for admitting her into the palace, and to ſtill more intimate familiarities, whilſt the cauſe of his Divorce from the Queen was yet undecided; he upbraids him with want of the common feelings of humanity, in depriving his Daughter of her right to ſucceſſion; and calls up the Ghoſt of *Henry* VII. his Father, to contemplate with horror this unnatural behaviour in his Son: eſpecially as that Prince in order to ſecure this ſucceſſion, had put to death a moſt innocent young man, the Earl of *Warwick*, Regi-

* Concubina enim tua fieri *pudica mulier* nolebat, uxor volebat: Didicerat, opinor, ſi nullâ aliâ ex re, vel Sororis ſuæ exemplo, quàm cito te concubinarum tuarum ſatietas caperet.

NALD POLE's Uncle, and Nephew to EDWARD the fourth. "O, ſays he, could he but return to life, and ſee me, who am deſcended of the ſame family, from which he feared a competitor, ſupport the rights of his poſterity, which you his Son overthrow †."

IN this light did he conſider the Divorce, which was then the theme of all *Europe*. He received the perſon, who came over to act in conjunction with him, and who was one of the Council, with great courteſy, lodged him in his own houſe, and excuſing himſelf, as has been ſaid, from acting in the affair he was come on, he left the whole management of it to him. A year paſſed in this manner, when he had intelligence from his family, that his return to *England* was neceſſary, in order to remove all ſuſpicion of his diſlike to a deſign, on which the King was now wholly bent, which his declining to interfere in it might occaſion. He acquieſced in their advice, and being come back

Oct. 1530. to his Country, again choſe the retirement of Dean *Colet*'s houſe at *Shene*.

Nov. 29. ABOUT this time Cardinal *Wolſey* ended a life, which was become an object of compaſſion even to envy and jealouſy, if theſe paſſions were capable of relenting. During the laſt year of it, he had experienced an ebb of fortune, which, at length, left him by as total a deſertion as any of her undeſerving Favourites had ever been reduced to. And ambition, which makes her Votaries not leſs ſervile and complying, than proud and arrogant, ſhewed him as mean in his diſgrace, as he had been inſolent in proſperity. The Great Seal, and all other Poſts of honour and profit being taken from him, and all his effects ſeized, the moſt powerful and opulent ſubject in *Europe* muſt have periſhed through want, had not a few well-diſ-

† *Reg. Polus*, de Unit. Eccl. l. 3. c. 3.

poſed

pofed perfons, when intereft had called off all her mercenary train, relieved him. The King, at different intervals of his Minifter's difgrace, had fhewn him fome faint gleams of returning favour: but they were always fucceeded by greater hardfhips, and He and the *Bullen* party feemed refolved that this Victim of their feveral refentments fhould bleed at every pore, and agonize not only in expiring, but at every fymptom which brought on his diffolution. Overcome, at laft, by ill treatment, and the apprehenfions of worfe, he died on the road from *Cawood-Caftle*, a Seat belonging to the Bifhop of *York*, whither the Earl of *Northumberland* was fent, to bring him up to *London*. His faithful Domeftic, *Cavendifh*, has given an account of the penitential fentiments in which he paffed the laft months of a long and worldly life; and of that memorable faying; "that if he had ferved his Maker with the fame fidelity as he had his Prince, he fhould not have been forfaken in his grey hairs: but that his difgraces were juft, for having made greater account of the King's favour, than of the duty he owed his God:" A moral which we fhould rather learn from the experience of others, than teach by our own.

THE See of *York* being vacated by the death of the Cardinal, gave REGINALD an opportunity of difplaying a greatnefs of foul, more remarkable even than the arrogance of him who lately poffeffed it. It had been reprefented to the King, that, notwithftanding his Kinfman's youth, the character he had for learning, prudence, and integrity was fuch, that the chief of the Nobility would be greatly fwayed either for or againft the Divorce, as he fhould declare himfelf. On this, *Henry* engaged fome of his Relations, and other Perfons of the Court to perfuade him to a compliance; and, at the fame time, propofed a re-

ward which he judged adequate to the ſervice. His Brothers were the moſt importunate with him to give this ſatisfaction to his Prince, who had hitherto been at the whole charge of his education; a diſtinction with which he had favoured no other of the Nobles: and had, likewiſe beſtowed on him ſo many inſtances of royal bounty: and they repreſented to him, that his ſilence would involve himſelf and them in inevitable ruin. The Duke of *Norfolk*, a few days after Cardinal *Wolſey*'s death, was ſent by the King to let him know, that he had a long time intended to raiſe him to an eminent dignity in the Church, and, at preſent, an opportunity offered itſelf, by the vacancy of the See of *York*, to which he deſigned to promote him, and had no other objection than the uncertainty of his diſpoſitions with reſpect to the Divorce; as he ſhould be unwilling to place one in that high ſtation who would oppoſe it. REGINALD anſwered, he could not ſufficiently acknowlege the King's goodneſs, and ſhould think himſelf honoured enough, in whatever condition, provided he was allowed to promote his Prince's real intereſts; but, that proſpect loſt, no advancement, however conſpicuous, could be agreeable to him: and as he did not well ſee, how he could abet the Divorce, and, at the ſame time, act a becoming part with reſpect to his duty to the King, he rather choſe to be deprived of that mark of his favour, than accept of it on ſuch terms.

THE Duke teſtified great diſpleaſure at this diſcourſe, and having ſpoke much in defence of the Divorce, he ſaid, he would lay aſide the character of a Meſſenger ſent by the King, and talk to him as a Friend. He then reaſoned on the preſent ſtate of his affairs; and on the inconveniencies to which he expoſed himſelf by refuſing the King's liberality, and giving his negative to a cauſe which had many Defenders, and, as yet, had received

ceived no legal condemnation. That though he might think it a point of duty not to give his aſſent, yet it did but ill agree with the reſpect and good will he bore his Benefactor, to prejudice his ſuit by this proceeding: that he might return a more moderate anſwer, and ſatisfy at once both the King and his own conſcience. He, therefore, adviſed him neither to diſſemble his doubts concerning what was required of him, nor refuſe the offer of the See of *York*; but, as his compliance was the condition on which it was to be conferred, to deſire ſome time to deliberate and reſolve on the whole affair. The Duke added, he made no doubt but the requeſt would be granted, and undertook himſelf to obtain it. REGINALD approved of the advice, and deſired him to effect it, which he did by obtaining a month's delay.

THOSE who intereſted themſelves in his preferment were no ſooner acquainted with this tranſaction, but they employed every art to ſtagger his reſolution; and as they knew how little he was affected by thoſe arguments, which to others appear irreſiſtible, they applied ſuch as were more nearly allied to his own diſpoſitions. They urged, he was not to conſider how he could ſerve the King in an affair, which whether juſtifiable or not, was already determined; but the proſpect he had of being uſeful to his Majeſty and the whole nation, on ſo many other occaſions: that, if he really felt the zeal he profeſſed for his Sovereign, he would comply with him in this ſingle inſtance, in which, if there was any thing wrong, his credit and favour would, afterwards afford him an opportunity to rectify; and though the courſe he ſteered was oblique, it would equally bring him into the Port.—The King, likewiſe, during this interval, pleaſed with the hopes of gaining a Proſelyte of ſuch importance, was more than uſually gracious

to him, and ſhewed, by his whole behaviour how much he deſired his Kinſman's approbation.

THOUGH the inſtances of his Friends had not their full effect, yet the aſſaults were ſo frequent, that he yielded, at length, to their importunity, and when the term prefixed for declaring himſelf, was elapſed, told his Brother, Lord *Montague*, and Dr. *Fox*, who came to him on the King's part, that he would ſatisfy him. This aſſurance was ſo agreeable to *Henry*, that being informed of his coming, he went to meet him in a private *Whitehall.* Gallery of *York* Palace, that he might have the pleaſure of receiving it from his own mouth. But he had ſcarcely begun to ſpeak, when his tongue faultered, his memory failed him, and he found himſelf unable either to utter, or call to mind any thing he came prepared to ſay. He attributes this unexpected change, to the influence of the King's preſence, and ſays, that as ſoon as he ſaw him coming towards him, he was ſeized with ſo lively an apprehenſion of all the diſgrace and evils, which would attend the Divorce, that he could, in no wiſe prevail on himſelf to countenance ſo pernicious and fatal a meaſure, and betray one, whom of all men he moſt loved and valued. Having recollected himſelf, he entered on a diſcourſe entirely different from what he had thought on before, and expoſed to the King, with a moſt ingenuous freedom, the guilt and conſequences of the ſtep he meditated. *Henry* heard him with all the emotions of rage and diſappointment, often putting his hand to the dagger, which hung at his belt, and hindered by nothing, but the modeſt intrepidity of the ſpeaker, from imbruing it in his blood. But as he was about to ſoften the liberty he had taken, though ſo becoming his high rank, his perſonal integrity, and the ancient ſpirit of the Country which gave him birth, the King bore with him no longer, and having teſtified his re-
ſentment

ſentment both by looks and geſtures, and ſhutting the door with violence againſt him, he left REGINALD in tears, and retired abruptly into the next apartment, where he remained ſome time alone*. He atteſts theſe particulars in ſo ſolemn a manner, that no reaſonable perſon can call them in queſtion, and yet ſays, he does not deſire to be credited unleſs the whole tenour of his life bore witneſs to his veracity †.——He obſerves, on this occaſion, that he had given his Prince a pledge of loyalty and affection, of all others the leaſt equivocal, in reſigning all hopes of advancement in his Country, and refuſing one of the higheſt poſts, rather than aſſent to what was againſt his honour and intereſt.——At the ſame time he acknowledges, the inſufficiency of the King's reaſons for the Divorce, that the wickedneſs of his purpoſes ought to have withheld him from paying any deference to the remonſtrances of his friends and family; and that he had greatly erred, in vainly pretending, in contradiction to his own better knowledge, to reconcile ſuch unwarrantable meaſures with a diſcharge of duty.

AN affair of this nature could not long be a ſecret to the Public, and the ſurpriſe and diſappointment it cauſed to his Friends was anſwerable to the expectations they had conceived from a

* Biſhop *Burnet* treats this conference between the King and REGINALD POLE, and what happened at it, "as a romantic adventure, invented by *Sanders* to ſet off his Hero, and mentioned by no cotemporary Writer." It is, however, related by both the Authors of his Life, who were his Secretaries, and by himſelf, in his Letters to *Edward* VI. and to the Parliament.

† Teſtor tribunal Dei, apud quem, ſi falſa dico, reum me æternæ pœnæ judico. Epiſt. *Poli* ad Parliamentum.
Sed neque de hoc, neque de aliis mihi fidem adhiberi poſtulo, niſi reliquæ meæ omnes actiones, quæ in hunc uſque diem ſunt ſecutæ, idem ſemper teſtimonium præbuerunt. *ibid.*

contrary

contrary behaviour. As to himſelf, though he was conſcious of having acted that part which alone became him, yet he felt the uneaſineſs of his Prince's diſpleaſure; and having deliberated on a proper method to remove it, he thought it moſt adviſeable to ſend him his reaſons in writing, with an aſſurance, which he knew would be acceptable, that the purport of the letter had been communicated to nobody. The Duke of *Norfolk* had ſome intimation of this letter, and ſuſpecting what was fact, that he had juſtified his late behaviour, was highly offended. He complained to Lord *Montague*, that his Brother, not content with having inſulted his Sovereign to his face, had now added the outrage of doing it by writing. Lord *Montague* reported this to REGINALD, who replied, that he had wrote, indeed, but in a ſtrain ſo very different from what the Duke imagined, that he was perſuaded, if the King vouchſafed to read the letter, he would be appeaſed; and that his Brother might ſatisfy himſelf in this point, by only reporting to his Majeſty the particulars of the Diſcourſe which then paſſed between them. He accordingly waited on the King, who, having heard the meſſage he came on, ſtopped, ſome time, in a thoughtful poſture (for he was walking) and then taking two or three ſteps, "your Brother, ſays he, has rightly gueſſed my diſpoſitions, and has given me ſuch good reaſons for behaving as he did, and with ſuch a ſignification of duty and affection, that I am under a neceſſity of taking all he wrote, in good part; and could he but gain on himſelf to approve of my ſeparation from the Queen, no one would be dearer to me."

ANOTHER of thoſe events, of which the times were ſo fruitful, gave REGINALD a freſh opportunity of teſtifying his ſteadineſs, tho' at the riſk of forfeiting the remains of his Sovereign's favour,

favour, which his perſiſting to diſapprove the Divorce had already greatly abated. The King, on *Wolſey*'s diſgrace, had ſeized on his wealth, which was very great, and cauſed him to be declared liable to the penalties incurred, in certain caſes, by appealing to the See of *Rome*, or by the exerciſe of any power or authority delegated from her. *Wolſey* had in vain pleaded the King's permiſſion, and that the grant had paſſed the great Seal. The Clergy and the Commons having had recourſe to the Legate's Court, were likewiſe ſubjected to the ſame Statutes: and thus, the far greater part of the Chattels and Lands of *England*, by whatever tenure held, became forfeited to the crown. It was to no purpoſe to alledge, beſides the Letters patent, that *Wolſey*'s power could not ſafely have been oppoſed: the King inſiſted on what the Law, interpreted to his own purpoſes, was made to decree; and could he have given his Subjects what *Caligula* wiſhed to the Romans, but one Neck, he would have threatened to ſtrike it off at a blow.

About the ſame time, ſeveral new laws concerning the Clergy were made, and old ones inforced. They were, in general, both reaſonable and ſalutary, but ſo timed, and paſſed in ſuch a manner, as too plainly ſhewed a ſpleen to their perſons, rather than a zeal for the reformation of their manners. Some warm debates had happened in both houſes on theſe proceedings, and ſome of the Members had let fall expreſſions which beſpoke a tendency to the opinions which were afterwards introduced. *Fiſher*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, replied to theſe Innovators, and, like another *Micajah*, foretold the Evils which then impended, and were, ſoon after, to involve himſelf and ſo many others. His diſcourſe diſpleaſed thoſe who thought themſelves cenſured by it, and they moved to have him ſent to the Tower; but he, with his

uſual intrepidity, reminded them of the *Bohemians*, who were not yet recovered of a civil war of above a hundred years, which the like changes in religion had cauſed, and which had ſwept away Millions. Though this anſwer did not ſatisfy thoſe who complained of him, they were obliged to put up with it, and nothing more was then ſaid on the ſubject: but *Cromwell* is reported, on this occaſion, to have uttered a blaſphemy, which I dare not repeat.

THE Clergy having, as has been ſaid, incurred a premunire, and being expoſed to the envy of a Court faction, was now at the King's mercy; and having offered an enormous ſum, by way of compoſition, *Cromwell* informed the Convocation, that no compoſition would be accepted, unleſs the King was acknowledged Supreme Head and Protector of the Clergy and Church of *England*. The novelty of the claim, and its repugnance to the ſenſe of all Antiquity, cauſed it, at firſt, to be rejected. Soon after, it was admitted, with a clauſe, by which the Prelates declared they allowed of it, as far as it was conſiſtent with the Law of God: but the King inſiſting on a more explicit acknowledgment, this modification was left out; and that aſſent given, which Deſpotiſm, armed with Terrour extorts.

IN this tranſaction the caſes to which this new juriſdiction extended, were not ſpecified; nor even what was to be underſtood by it. All mention of the Pope had been avoided; the cauſe of the Divorce ſtill continued to be pleaded before him; recourſe was had to him in other concerns, on the King's part, and in the uſual form; and though the *Engliſh* Agents returned the condeſcenſion and favour which was ſhewn them, with perverſeneſs and inſolence, yet the King forbore coming to an open rupture. The ſubmiſſion which he had lately exacted from the

Clergy,

Clergy, was only an essay towards what he effected 1533.
to years after, when the Pope's supremacy was entirely abolished, and a power usurped by *Henry* of laying waste that fair Edifice, which, like all others throughout the Christian world, had been founded by the divine Lawgiver, on the pre- St. *Mat.*
eminence of that See, and had rested on it, in ch. 16.
this kingdom, since its first establishment, during nine hundred years. This Lay Headship, in the most explicit and universal sense, passed then into a Law, by the advice of a Minister, to whom the exercise of it was delegated; and, by the same Adviser, an oath and statute were framed for that purpose.

THE Clergy's composition being accepted on these terms, the Commons were afraid they should be under a necessity of purchasing theirs at as high a price; and complaints being made on this head, the King let them know, in an angry tone, that he was master of his own favours, and would distribute them in what measure he thought fit. He passed, however, an Act of Grace in their favour, which together with that granted to the Clergy, was ratified by the Parliament.

THOUGH REGINALD, in quality of Dean of *Exeter*, sate in the lower house of Convocation, he had no part in the Act by which the King was acknowledged supreme head of the Church, nor did he ever consent to it. He was present, as he informs us, when the Clergy's composition was refused on their admitting that Title, but not when they agreed to it *. He has not informed us

* De Unitate Ecclesiæ, l. 1. c. 7. et l. 3. c. 3.

Notwithstanding this assertion, Bishop *Burnet* says, he makes no doubt but REGINALD subscribed to the title of Supremacy: the only reason he assigns for this certainty, is, that he was then Dean of *Exeter*, and, in that quality, sat in the lower house of Convocation. This, sure, can have little weight against what he says of himself, in a work

us of the reaſons of his conduct in this particular, or how he came to be abſent, at ſo critical a juncture, from an Aſſembly, to which he belonged in his ſpiritual capacity, and where his rank, parts, and character muſt have made him the chief perſonage. His late diſintereſted and intrepid behaviour in the affair of the Divorce, is a ſufficient warrant that no unbecoming motive regulated his conduct in this: and, if conjecture, of which I chuſe to be ſparing, may have place, it is not improbable that this abſence was occaſioned by circumſtances, which, though unknown to us, exempted him from giving his Prince the uneaſineſs of an open, and, at the ſame time, fruitleſs oppoſition.

THOUGH the King had not yet withdrawn his favour from him, it was conſiderably abated; and the Courtiers who regulate their behaviour by their Prince's diſpoſitions, began to be leſs aſſiduous in the regards they had hitherto ſhewed him. It does not appear, however, that this change had any ſhare in the reſolution he took ſoon after, of retiring a ſecond time from *England*.

work addreſſed, a few years after, to the King himſelf, who muſt have known how the Fact was. Nor would thoſe who wrote againſt His treatiſe on the Supremacy, have failed to retaliate, in caſe he had agreed to it, that he then oppoſed what he had ſo lately approved. The Biſhop, indeed, a few lines lower, deſtroys his own argument, weak as it is, by owning, that, before the Reformation, there is nothing certain concerning the method of proceeding in the Convocation, and that he is of opinion, the Deans ſat in the Upper Houſe, after having told us, that REGINALD, in that capacity, belonged to the Lower. It is no wonder that *Rapin*, *Larray*, and others, who copy Dr. *Burnet*, ſhould have tranſlated this ſlander: but it ſeems ſomething extraordinary that an aſſertion, in which REGINALD's character is ſo much intereſted, ſhould have eſcaped the notice of *Boſſuet*, *Le Grand*, and *Niceron*, who are very accurate in remarking the Biſhop's miſtakes. *Fleury*'s Continuator repeats it almoſt in *Burnet*'s words, l. 107.

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This was wholly owing to the character of the Minister, to whom *Henry*, after *Wolsey*'s disgrace, had given all his confidence; and in whose measures He already foresaw whatever the abuse of power could effect. This prospect, he says, cautioned him to leave, a second time, a hostile land, and forego the tenderness of a Parent, his Family connections, which were very considerable; all hopes of rising to employments answerable to his birth and great attainments; and every consideration which can endear a Son, a Brother, and an *English* Nobleman to his Country.

THE Reader has, in another place, been informed from REGINALD's relation, of the sentiments in which *Cromwell* endeavoured to initiate him on his first coming from the University of *Padua*, and the manner in which he then laid himself open to him: and the following account from the same unexceptionable Voucher discloses every thing which can contribute to a compleat knowledge of His character, by whose counsels *England* was solely governed almost eleven years.

THE Remonstrances which *Wolsey*, as has been said, made to *Henry*, though ill received at the time, had made an impression: they had been seconded by the advice of *Campegio*; and what passed between the King and REGINALD had added weight to all the rest. The delays of the Court of *Rome*, together with the great and various inconveniences which would attend the Divorce, which his own apprehensions suggested, began to stagger his resolution in the prosecution of it. A ray of light had, at length, pierced the chaos of passion, which had so long overspread his mind, and let him see at once the guilt and danger he was engaged in. He did not conceal the trouble he was under, nor the thoughts he

had of easing himself of it: and fetching a deep sigh before several of the Court, as REGINALD POLE relates from one who was present, he said; "that since the See of *Rome*, contrary to his expectations, persisted in refusing to consent to the Divorce, he would no longer contend with her, but give up all further thoughts of it." This declaration was received with singular joy and applause by all who heard it, and the King continued, some days, though not resolved, yet conscious what part he ought to act. In this suspense *Cromwell* had access to him, and beginning "by the general concern of the Nation for the disquietude he laboured under, and how much the public welfare was interested in their Prince's tranquillity, he said, it was the duty of every loyal and affectionate Subject to contribute to it in the best manner he was able; and that this disposition had prompted him, however unworthy, to be admitted to his Sovereign's counsels, to lay before him what he had long meditated on the great object then under consideration."—Being commended for his zeal, and encouraged to deliver his sentiments with full liberty, he did it in the following manner. "And lest any one should imagine, says the noble Relator, that I have adapted a discourse to the Character of the person, I declare, with the strictest regard to truth, that I have only thrown together, either what, on different occasions I have heard from himself, or learnt from those who were privy to all his designs, and have unquestionable proofs of every thing I set down. He insinuated to the King, at seasonable intervals, "that he might, with great emolument of power, profit, and honour, not only extricate himself from those difficulties which then opposed his desires, but secure his future life from all such opposition; especially on the part of his Subjects, who, by

this means, would be taught to fear, not awe their Sovereign.—And, indeed, unleſs this point was gained, in what was his ſituation preferable to a private fortune? that ſeveral perſons, though ſubject to laws and the command of Kings, were ſo far from being deprived of this privilege, that they enjoyed it with great ſecurity, however contrary it might ſeem to thoſe ordinances. Shall a Prince, therefore, whoſe condition places him above ſuch reſtraints, ſtand in ſuch dread of them, when his happineſs is at ſtake; and be ill at eaſe, when thoſe, to whom he was born to preſcribe, were free to act as they pleaſed?—— That this manner of reaſoning proceeded from the timidity of thoſe who adviſed it: or from a ſtill more ſiniſter motive of levelling the condition of Kings with that of their people, and not acknowledging that their conduct was regulated by maxims very different from thoſe of the reſt of mankind; which was, in effect, to conſult not the King's but the People's advantage, whoſe intereſt it was that their Rulers ſhould be tied down by the ſame obligations which bind themſelves.—— He did not advance this with a deſign that the King ſhould be induced to any thing contrary to rectitude, which he knew was far from his princely mind; but that he ſhould not permit himſelf to be too ſtreightly confined by rules, which only ſerve for matter of wrangle to Schoolmen. They, he confeſſed, had laid it down as a principle, that what is right has its origin in the nature of things, from which neither King nor Subject are allowed to depart, and which no power can either change or antiquate.—That their error conſiſted in impoſing the ſame obligations on perſons, whoſe condition was diſparate; and they had gained ſo far by their ſubtleties, as to ſubject Princes to thoſe forms, to which they thought fit to confine their notions of right and wrong; whereas ex-

 perience,

perience, a more knowing miſtreſs, admitted a much greater latitude, and taught, that thoſe notions might undergo the ſame revolutions, to which others have been ſubject. That, if Rectitude had a fixed principle in nature, it would not vary ſo often amongſt thoſe who are guided by her dictates; nor what was called Right in one nation, go under the oppoſite denomination in another; and what has been diſhonourable in certain times and circumſtances, be reputable in others.—Having exemplified this in ſeveral inſtances, he draws this inference; that if the nature of Rectitude was variable, none, ſure, had a better title to change it than Kings, whoſe prerogative it was to have the very Laws derive their force and ſtability from their Will.—What he advanced, however, was with no view to the debate in queſtion, concerning which there was no cauſe to recede from received opinions. The Law of God, which forbade marriage with a Brother's Widow, and the deciſions of the Univerſities having declared in his favour, what further room could there be for doubting or diſputing about what was right? His meaning was, that if, hereafter, the King's inclination ſhould lead him to depart from the notions of the ordinary World, he ſhould perſuade himſelf, the People had no title to paſs ſentence on the actions of their Sovereign; nor did it become the Sovereign to pay any ſuch deference to thoſe, who were to look on his will as law. In the preſent caſe, the divine Law ſo evidently agreed with his deſires, that no puniſhment could be too rigorous for thoſe who withſtood it.—But if any foreign authority interpoſed, particularly that of the Biſhop of *Rome*, who was wont to arrogate ſuch Cauſes to his Court of Judicature, he did not deny but all means ſhould be tried to obtain a favourable ſentence from him, as it would be

of

of great uſe againſt that Prince's complaints, who would think himſelf perſonally injured by the Divorce: Yet if the Roman Pontiff out of conſideration to the Emperor, obſtinately perſiſted to refuſe the King's juſt demands; inſtead of apprehending his judgment, he had a fair opportunity of freeing himſelf, and his Kingdom from the ſlavery of a foreign yoke.—That this yoke which the Pope had laid on the necks of Kings and States was grievous, and he wondered they did not conſider it in the ſame light with the German Princes, and, like them, ſhake it off.—They had felt no inconvenience from ſuch a conduct, but great increaſe of wealth and power; and, if he followed their example, who would enjoy ſo great a ſhare of theſe advantages as himſelf?—By aſſuming the ſupremacy of the Church, in his own dominions, which was due to him, and could not, without manifold detriment to the Realm, be allowed to any foreign power, he would ſurpaſs all his Anceſtors in every princely prerogative.—To whom could the Title of Head of a Kingdom ſo properly belong as to the King? that two Heads in the ſame ſtate was a prodigy; the fiction of prieſtcraft, to ſubſtract the Clergy from the juriſdiction of the Prince. He ſhould therefore reinſtate himſelf in what they had fraudulently uſurped; and, by this means, add a new luſtre to the crown, and be King in a far more extenſive ſenſe than his Forefathers.—And here, ſaid REGINALD, having, as it were, tranſported him to the pinacle of the Temple, from whence he might ſurvey the Church's fair poſſeſſions, the Religious houſes, which were numerous and opulent, the Biſhopricks, and the whole Patrimony of the Clergy, he told him, all theſe were his, on the eaſy condition of declaring himſelf what he really was, the Head of the Church, and cauſing that title to be

be confirmed by the ſupreme Council of the Nation. That, this would be no difficult matter, if he choſe ſkilful Managers, and obſerved a precaution neceſſary in the beginning of all ſuch undertakings, to exact compliance, under the ſevereſt penalties; and ſpared none who dared to tranſgreſs.—He adviſed him, therefore, to brand with a particular infamy all thoſe, who, either by word or writing, oppoſed his Supremacy; as no treaſon could be higher, or more injurious to his perſon and prerogative, than to acknowledge that authority in a foreign power. He had, conſequently, nothing more to do, but to aſſert a claim, inherent to the regal dignity, and thus eſtabliſh a reputation ſuperior to the Kings his Predeceſſors, who either did not ſee how much their majeſty was impaired by ſubmitting to the Papal juriſdiction; or, if they ſaw it, were at a loſs how to rid themſelves of it.—They, he owned, being taken up with foreign wars, and foreign conqueſts, had given little heed to thoſe domeſtic enemies, who, under the appearance of Religion, ſapped the foundation of government: and conſidering in a hoſtile light thoſe only who oppoſed them with open force, had overlooked ſuch as attacked them by ſtratagem.—That this had been the work of the Biſhops of *Rome*.—But now, a perfect tranquillity at home and abroad, afforded him a favourable circumſtance of recovering what uſurpation had, ſo long, withheld: of obtaining the deſired Object of his choice and affection; and increaſing both his wealth and power: and, if there remained any further obſtacles, he need not doubt but time and opportunity would remove them. But that, at all hazards, the Supremacy, in all its latitude, was to be ſecured; and, by this means, true Sovereignty aſcertained to himſelf and his Succeſſors, and

and a laſting monument left of his own wiſdom *."

REGINALD obſerves, that it would have been difficult for the moſt conſummate cunning to have propoſed a more enſnaring ſyſtem; and that it was liſtened to with a willing ear by him, whoſe paſſions were prepared to receive it. Ambition, avarice, luſt, revenge, the inſeparable inmates of the breaſts of Tyrants, and the uſe even of that authority which was ſo much exploded in the yet acknowledged head of the Church, were too ſucceſsfully applied to transfer it elſewhere. Nay, ſays he, the ſemblance of reaſon was ſo plauſible, that ſome of my acquaintance, who had a reputation for prudence, and had, hitherto, condemned the King's deſigns, were prevailed on to approve them. As for the Adviſer, he was honoured with the King's entire confidence, became his chief Counſellor, and was inveſted with a power ſuitable to the plan he was to execute. Some time before, on *Woiſey*'s diſgrace, whoſe creature and chief Agent he had been, the people, who were acquainted with his abilities for villany, had doomed him to the gallows, and no one doubted of his being already in chains and a dungeon †. Their ſurprize and ſorrow were the greater when they ſaw him at the Helm, and the King's Vicar-general in his new capacity of Head of the Church; a name which, hitherto, had been unknown in the liſt of the great officers of the Crown, no leſs than the title, by virtue of which it was conferred, to the claims of our Sovereigns.

* Apol. *Reg. Poli,* ad *Carolum* Imp. §. 27. et ſeq.

† Ut inter intimos et primarios Conſiliarios cognoſceretur ille, quem populus paulo antè ad furcam poſcebat, atque in carcerem atque vincula conjectum fuiſſe nemo dubitabat. Hæc enim communis vox omnium erat. *Ibid.*

THIS defcription of *Cromwell* is given by REGINALD POLE, whom veracity, and the opportunities he had of being acquainted with him, muft place above all fufpicion of being either a ftranger to his perfon and character, or of mifrepresenting it. He inferted this account in the Apology he wrote for himfelf, to *Charles* V. five years after his leaving *England*, and three, before that Minifter was beheaded, who, at this time, like the deftroying Angel, was laying his Country wafte, and making it one continued fcene of rapine, facrilege, oppreffion, and bloodfhed.

"THE plan he propofed to the King, continues Il Principe. the fame noble Relator, was drawn from *Machiavel*'s treatife *On the Art of Government*, which I have already quoted; and being at *Florence*, laft winter, I was defirous to be informed of the occafion on which the book was wrote, and the Author's intention in writing it, and, at the fame time, made no fecret of what I thought of the performance. Thofe, with whom I converfed on the fubject, returned me the anfwer which the writer is reported to have made to the fame objection; that he had not delivered his own fentiments, but thofe of the perfon, to whom the work was addreffed; and who being a Tyrant, though he could not but be pleafed with them, yet if they were made the rule of his conduct, he forefaw, what every one fkilled in government muft know, and experience juftified, that his reign would be fhort. That this was the end of his wifhes, as he abhorred the Prince to whom he infcribed the work; and writing to a Tyrant, he had put down what would be agreeable to that character, with no other view than to urge him on to a ruin, to which he was haftening of his own accord."—The work was then but lately publifhed, and it is no fmall inftance of fagacity in

in our illustrious Countryman to have been the first who gave the alarm, both in *England* and *Florence*, before the latter, which had hatched the Viper, was aware of its poison. *Leo* X. after the work was published, had cherished the Author amongst his intimates: he had escaped the censure of *Adrian* VI. and *Clement* VII. to whom he dedicated his history of *Florence*, had granted an ample privilege to an edition of all his Works. *Yet the soul of one righteous man*, and he a Briton, *discerned more than seven Centinels from a watch-tower*, and, at first sight, discovered all the danger which they had overlooked. Proverbs.

I SHALL have occasion, in another part of REGINALD's life, to lay before the Reader the arguments by which he exposes the folly and impiety of *Machiavel*'s policy, and proves it to be equally destructive of all private and public good.

BEFORE he left *England*, *Erasmus*, who was then at *Friburg*, had testified to him by letter, "the satisfaction he had received in hearing the consideration, in which his Country held him, was equal to his birth, his probity, and learning*." But these very advantages, so far from making his abode there desirable, were the strongest motives for leaving it. He was too conspicuous not to make an explicit declaration of his sentiments soon necessary; and his open and steady temper admitted neither of disguise, nor the treachery of dissimulation. He owed his Prince the compliance which gratitude, affection, and loyalty exact; but, in a duty of a higher order, he was accountable at another Bar. He alone was to answer for any stain in his Character; and,

* Mihi summæ voluptati fuit. te istic et rectè valere, et in ea esse dignitate, quam, præter imaginum claritatem, et probitas ista meretur et eruditio.

besides

befides the reproach of a perfonal failing, would have fet a fatal example, which was fo earneftly defired from him, of accommodating his counfels to his Sovereign's inclinations, rather than of promoting his real fervice. No unbecoming motive, therefore, engaged him to retire from his Country; but a generous and prudent difpofition never to betray the caufe of truth and juftice, and yet to defift from unavailing contention, which exafperates lawlefs power, and arms it with additional means of deftruction. This inflexible fteadinefs in the paths of virtue, and a tender regard to all the rights of humanity, continued uniform throughout his whole life; and ftill reflects a greater honour on his memory, than his defcent from the *Plantagenets*, the high dignities he was raifed to, his fkill in public affairs, and a knowledge and eloquence equal to any of the age in which he lived.

SECT.

SECT II.

His private Life in France *and* Italy: *inſcribes a Work to* Henry VIII. *replies to a Letter of both Houſes of Parliament, to him.*

Draws up a Plan of the Church's Reformation.

REGINALD, by the good offices of ſome who were in favour, had not only obtained the King's conſent to croſs the ſeas, but alſo the continuance of thoſe annual ſupplies he had hitherto never ceaſed to allow him. The firſt acknowlegement he made to this royal bounty, was to chuſe a place for his abode, which might conceal him from public obſervation, and, at the ſame time, give him an opportunity of improving in thoſe attainments, which the exigencies of his Prince and Country chiefly called for. With this view he pitched on *Avignon*, a City in *Provence*, but ſubject, with its territory, to the See of *Rome*, for his reſidence. On his arrival, the ſepulchre of *Laura*, whom *Petrarch* has ſo much celebrated, was diſcovered. The inhabitants congratulated themſelves on this incident, no leſs than the *Sicilians* had done on the diſcovery of *Archimides*'s tomb, the memory of which they had loſt; and paid the perſon, who diſcovered it, almoſt the ſame honours the latter had conferred on *Cicero*, for the like benefit *. She was a native of that City, and born about the year 1340. Her wit and beauty diſtinguiſhed her in an age and country where it was faſhionable for young Ladies to think they had minds capable of improvement like thoſe of the other ſex, and that the means of improvement are reading and con-

* *Bembi* Epiſt. l. 6. p. 279. Edit. *Venetæ*, 1552.

verſing with men of ſenſe. *Petrarch* had a reſpect and affection for her which nothing leſs than ſo extraordinary merit could have lengthened to ſuch a date: he loved her twenty years before her death and ten after, and has given her, in his verſes, that ſecond life which conſiſts in well-ſung praiſe.

AVIGNON was now a celebrated ſeat of learning, and the great *Alciate,* after having honoured it with his lectures on the civil law, was gone to *Beziers*, ſome time before REGINALD's arrival. He found, however, *Ripa*, who ſucceeded that Profeſſor, and whom *Sadolet* commends for his great and comprehenſive erudition; and *Caſtellan*, Dean of *Avignon*, whoſe learning and friendſhip for our Countryman are particularly recorded by *Bembo*. By the aſſiſtance of ſuch company, and the advantages of leiſure and privacy, he applied himſelf, as he had already done, wholly to ſacred literature, from a proſpect of what was impending on his Country. For in a letter to *Sadolet*, wrote about this time, "he aſſures him he had not, for the four laſt years, which take in one he had ſpent at *Paris*, the ſtay he made in *England*, and his reſidence at *Avignon*, even *read* ſo much of Claſſic latin, as he then wrote to him, having been entirely taken up with Theology *." This is a ſacrifice to duty, of which they only know the price, who have experienced the difficulty of making it.

HE had ſcarcely continued a year at *Avignon*, when perceiving the climate, which is ſubject to winds and frequent hurricanes, not to agree with his health, he thought of returning to *Padua*, where he had ſo long experienced both the clemency

* Sanctè adjurare poſſum, me, a quatuor jam annis, ne tantum quidem latinè legiſſe, quantum nunc ad te ſcripſi, Theologorum libris avocatus, quos tamen in hoc genere latinorum Scriptorum non pono.

mency of the air, and the good will of the inhabitants. He took *Carpentras* in his way thither, of which City the famous *Sadolet* was then Biſhop, and began an intimacy, which was ſo honourable and advantageous to them both, and ended only with *Sadolet*'s life, who died ſome years before his friend. At his leaving *Avignon*, *Sadolet* wrote by him to *Giberti*, Biſhop of *Verona*, "that the bearer, with whoſe virtue, nobility and learning he was well acquainted, was on his return to *Italy*, and that his chief inducement, as he imagined, was to renew his correſpondence with the learned of thoſe parts, and particularly with himſelf." And writing, ſoon after, to *Bonamico*, when REGINALD paſſed by *Avignon*, his ſtay, ſays he, was ſo ſhort, that it hardly allowed me to contemplate him; and yet, methought, I diſcovered ſuch various excellence in every kind of merit, that from henceforward I have not only loved, but conceived the higheſt veneration for him. His genius, his probity and erudition entitle him to our eſteem; but there is ſtill ſomething more admirable, that ſuch a goodneſs of diſpoſition, and ſo much humanity ſhould be joined to an elevated fortune, and royal extraction." In a third letter to REGI- 3° Non. NALD, he makes no difficulty of repeating to him- *Dec.* 1532. ſelf what he had already ſaid of him to others. "I will write to you, ſays he, my real ſentiments: I was ſo taken with your behaviour, your converſation, with your worth and modeſty, that I have never been able to forget our meeting: for though the ſhortneſs of your viſit denied me the advantage of an intimate acquaintance, yet when I reflect on your manner of life, and on the opinion ſo many great perſonages have entertained of you, and ſee how perfectly it agrees with my own obſervations, I begin to conſider you ſuch as you really are."

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As Reginald had let no opportunity ſlip of improving himſelf by the advice and diſcourſe of able men, *Sadolet* informs *Giberti*, he might know every thing which concerned himſelf, from his Gueſt: "for, ſays he, the ſhort time he was with me, he enquired what method I obſerved in reading and writing, and what was the principal view I propoſed to myſelf in my ſtudies; and I have reaped, in my turn, the greateſt ſatisfaction from his acquaintance, having diſcovered a genius of the firſt claſs, a conſummate knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages, accompanied with humanity, and great elegance of manners." He had, moreover, received his advice on a very important article, which does equal honour to the enlightened mind of the one, and the teachable diſpoſition of the other.

Sadolet, from being brought up amongſt the Wits of *Leo* the Xth's court, had retained a ſecret bias to thoſe ſtudies, which were there in requeſt: and though, on his advancement to Epiſcopacy, he had begun to apply himſelf to purſuits more ſuited to his character, yet a certain irreſolution ſtill hung on him, and hindered him from cloſing with what, unqueſtionably, had the better claim to his induſtry. He had now two works on his hands, a Comment on St. *Paul's* epiſtle to the *Romans*, which he undertook, he ſays, "becauſe he was deſirous to bring all the aſſiſtance he could to the cauſe of Chriſtianity, which was almoſt every where in danger; and had endeavoured to treat the ſubject ſo as to deſerve the approbation of the learned, with whoſe diſcernment he was not unacquainted: but whether he had ſucceeded, the event would ſhow." The other work was inſcribed *Hortenſius*, or *a Praiſe of Philoſophy*, and is a ſecond part to what he had formerly publiſhed under the title of *Phædrus*. He was in ſome doubt which he ſhould finiſh firſt, and *Bembo*, whom

whom he had conſulted, and who, as yet, ſeems to have made but a ſlender progreſs in Chriſtian literature, was earneſt with him in favour of the latter: "Your reputation, ſays he, is concerned in giving this Dialogue your firſt cares. You are engaged to the Public by the pledge you have already given of the performance. The expectation you have raiſed, and ſo many years deferred to gratify, will make you find leſs indulgence than if you had publiſhed nothing on this head." REGINALD's opinion had likewiſe been aſked, and he had delivered it in ſo comprehenſive a manner, as not only to reſolve the queſtion in debate according to the rules of that prudence, which *deſcends from the Father of Lights*, but to give the deciſive caſt to his friend's future conduct with reſpect to letters.

"I SHALL never forget, ſays *Sadolet*, the faithful and prudent advice you gave me, when I was unreſolved to what kind of learning I ſhou'd chiefly apply myſelf, and to what authority I ſhould pay the greateſt deference. There were not wanting thoſe who propoſed to me certain plans of ſtudy and writing, very different from what I have now embraced. But, you, readily and wiſely counſelled me to addict myſelf chiefly to thoſe, whoſe emolument extended not only to this life, but to futurity. This ſingle anſwer determined me to betake myſelf to ſacred literature, to which my own choice already inclined me. At the ſame time, I could not but admire your ſagacity and ſenſe of religion; for though you had been long converſant with a ſet of men, who are rather averſe to theſe ſtudies; and being yourſelf adorned with every accompliſhment, to which the ideas of elegance, politeneſs and pleaſure are annexed, with which the others are deemed to have little affinity: yet, by the ſole effort of diſcernment, and goodneſs of diſpoſition, you have given the preference,

preference, not to what affords preſent entertainment, but what brings with it the moſt laſting advantages."

Sept. 1552. WHEN REGINALD left *Avignon*, *Sadolet* had juſt finiſhed a treatiſe *on Education*, which was deſigned for the uſe of his Nephew, a Youth of very promiſing parts, and who ſucceeded him in the Biſhoprick of *Carpentras*, with a reputation not unworthy ſuch an Uncle and Predeceſſor. This work was to be delivered by REGINALD to *Bembo*, who was then at *Venice*, in order to be reviſed by him, before it appeared in print: and REGINALD, the bearer, was deſired to read it, and ſend the Author his ſentiments of the performance, with the utmoſt freedom. Such offices are ſeldom aſked with ſincerity, or performed with candour, or taken in good part; but the character of the perſons here concerned, placed them above all ſuch exceptions. And as this incident gave occaſion to the firſt letter, which has been tranſmitted to us, of this excellent young man; and it being a finiſhed piece of that eloquence, which *Cicero* defines to be "Wiſdom with the advantages of elocution," I ſhall give the reader the chief heads of it *. They convey a leſſon particularly neceſſary to theſe times, when the precepts of belief and practice, which are derived from revelation, are either contemptuouſly rejected, or impiouſly oppoſed; and we ſeem gone back to the æra of an *Aurelius*, or an *Antonin*, when philoſophy, that is, the light of

* As the letter is too long to be inſerted entire, the reader will find the original in the Appendix, No. II. and may collect from it, the juſtneſs of the following obſervation of *Eraſmus*, on the Author. "*Ciceronis* admirator ſummus, et æmulator non infœlix, nihil adhuc ſuo nomine voluit in lucem prodire; quanquam in epiſtolis familiaribus ſatis declarat, quid valeat." *Eraſ. Ciceronianus.*

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reaſon, depraved by every weakneſs of vitiated nature, was the ſole acknowledged guide of human life. As ſoon, therefore, as he arrived at *Venice*, he wrote to his friend in the following manner.

He begins, "by acknowledging the obligations he had to him, which were of ſuch a nature as to reach beyond the time they were conferred.—That having been extremely deſirous of his acquaintance, he had reaped that advantage from it, which might reaſonably be expected from ſuch conſummate learning and prudence, and had been reſolved on ſeveral important affairs, on which, he had before been doubtful and fluctuating.—I muſt apply, ſays he, to the entertainment I met with at *Sadolet*'s houſe, what *Timotheus* told *Plato*, the day after he had ſupped with him, that *Plato*'s banquets were not only agreeable at the time when the Gueſts partook of them, but afterwards.—You found, I confeſs an expedient, if not to remove, to ſoften, at leaſt, the concern I felt, in being obliged to leave a perſon, for whom I had ſo great a value, almoſt as ſoon as I was acquainted with him; nor did you ſuffer me to be totally deprived of yourſelf.—The Companion you gave me, placed you conſtantly in my ſight, and recalled, in ſo lively a manner, thoſe amicable and uſeful converſations I had with you, that the impreſſion they then made, ſtill continued—Who, indeed, could give me a juſter notion of you, than yourſelf? than your writings? than that very treatiſe which I was to deliver to *Bembo*?—He then expreſſes the ſatisfaction he had received from a Work, which had cauſed him to overlook all the inconveniencies of a troubleſome journey; and fixed his attention on that lucid path, by which he leads his Pupil to true glory.—He enters on the particulars of that maſterly prudence, by which age and experience had enabled him to point out

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the dangers and obſtacles which occur in this purſuit, and the means by which they were to be ſhunned or conquered.—He deſcribes the ſatiſfaction he felt, in ſeeing the great Maſter every where equal to the undertaking, and always riſing to the dignity of his ſubject.—That, as the Sun never withdraws his rays, but alternately tranſfers the day to all who ſtand in need of it; ſo, in this illuſtrious courſe of merit, the inſtructions of *Sadolet* had continued ſtill the ſame; had ſhed an univerſal influence on education; and, by turns, conferred their aid, and communicated their force to every part of it.—That no one had a better title to ſuch an admirable plan than his Nephew, for whoſe advantage it was drawn up; whoſe birth, the domeſtic diſcipline he had received from his Parents, and a happy diſpoſition to whatever was laudable, had already prepared him for theſe ſublimer leſſons.—And having, at length, ſaid every thing which the excellence of the work, and his own reliſh for that excellence, together with his perſonal regard for the Author, could ſuggeſt; and ſaid it with an eloquence both of ſentiment and diction not inferior to the ſubject of his commendation; as the Author had deſired his opinion on the whole performance, he does not diſſemble his diſapprobation of the concluſion; and tells him, he thinks he ſhould not have finiſhed his plan with what concerns Philoſophy, but have carried it on ſtill further.—I will not diſpute, ſays he, the excellence of this Science, and the preference it might have claimed above all others, had your Diſciple lived in the early times of *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*, or in the later age of *Cicero*, or had theſe Inſtructors been his Guides. In this caſe, he could not, perhaps, have acquieſced in any attainment more ſafe and ſatisfactory; nor would they have adviſed any other.—But being born in happier days, in which as ſeveral new tracts of

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ſea and land, unknown to Antiquity, had been diſcovered; and harbours which the Ancients had frequented, were become of little uſe, or lay buried in ruins; ſo, under the guidance of the SON of GOD, a much ſafer and calmer haven of the mind had been opened to us, than the ancient world had ever been acquainted with.—And as *Sadolet* himſelf, though he had called at the Ports of the Ancients, yet had ſailed by them, nor made any longer ſtay, than was neceſſary to ſtore his Veſſel, for the remainder of the voyage; and, at length, had taken up his ſtation in that haven, which eternal wiſdom points out; why did he leave ſo promiſing a Youth, whoſe courſe he had hitherto ſteered, in the unſafe and ruinous harbour of Philoſophy, which now no longer deſerved even that denomination, but was become what the Poet ſaid of *Tenedos*,

Nunc tantum ſinus et ſtatio malefida carinis.

Once bleſt with wealth, while *Priam* held the ſway,
But now a broken, rough and dangerous Bay. *Pitt.*

That the caution, accuracy, and admirable precepts which were wrought into the Syſtem he had laid down, could never be deſigned to form a perſon, who was to owe his final inſtruction to Philoſophy, and betake himſelf to her diſcipline; but for one, who would be able to give the greateſt Maſters in that Science, were they to return again to life, a new and more excellent model than they had ever thought of.—That this wiſdom and tranquillity were very different from what they had made profeſſion of; was to be derived from other ſources; and had the ſame advantage over whatever Philoſphy could propoſe, as divine things have above human.—He entreats him, therefore, not to think he had acquitted himſelf of what he owed to ſo excellent a young man, if he initiated him in this Science, or even made him a perfect maſter of it.

That he muſt proceed beyond that attainment, nor judge his part performed, till he had brought him into that ſacred haven, in which himſelf had found ſolid peace of mind, and true glory.—What would the judicious ſay, if a Brother's Son ſhould fix his ſtation elſewhere than in the hallowed Seat which *Sadolet* had choſen for himſelf?—He concludes with ſaying, I have enlarged myſelf on this ſubject, to obey your commands of ſending you my opinion of a work, which I cannot ſufficiently admire; and, at the ſame time, to teſtify my eſteem for ſacred literature, which I could not without concern, ſee paſſed over in ſilence, whilſt you do ſo much honour to the other branches of learning."

Venice, Nov. 1532.

To this *Sadolet* returned anſwer, "that he could not but greatly approve and love that virtue, and a mind devoted to God, which appeared in this expoſtulation, as in all REGINALD's other actions and diſcourſes; but, that his reaſon for not making any particular mention of Theology was, becauſe it came under the general notion of Philoſophy, and was the utmoſt height and perfection of it: that in Philoſophy, as in a great body, there were ſeveral parts, and that which treated of God, and the firſt cauſe, as *Ariſtotle* had well obſerved, was almoſt alone worthy that appellation: and although the Chriſtian Writers of later times had treated Theology in a different manner, yet thoſe holy and learned perſonages, a *Chryſoſtome*, a *Baſil*, and others, had viewed it in the ſame light as he had done, and called it Philoſophy. Beſides, ſays he, as I only bring my Diſciple to the twenty-fifth year of his age, and then leave him to his own determination, I did not judge it proper to recommend profeſſedly to him a Science, which ſeems ſuited to riper and more ſedate years. That, as to what concerns Religion, he had ſaid as much of it as was neceſſary to be known at ſo early a period of life; and, to conclude, as he intended

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to range all Philoſophy under its ſeveral heads, in another treatiſe, called *Hortenſius*, he had not thought it adviſeable to anticipate the commendation of Theology, which was to be the principal ornament of that Dialogue: and, being reſerved new and entire for the Reader, would give him greater pleaſure." *Dec.* 1532.

THESE reaſons did not hinder REGINALD from ſtill thinking, that *Sadolet* had treated ſacred literature with leſs attention than it had a claim to, as we learn from a reply of the latter, where he ſays, "he imagined he had already cleared himſelf, but ſince he perſiſted in the charge, he would take care to ſatisfy him in as ample a manner as he could wiſh: and that all he aſked, was an unprejudiced review of the point in debate, which biaſſed the judgment to neither ſide, in a cauſe which was yet undecided." *July* 1533.

AN incident happened, ſome time after, which gave REGINALD an opportunity of reſuming the argument; not as a general defence of Theology, but as an affair, in which he thought the honour and welfare of an intimate friend not a little intereſted. On his fixing his reſidence at *Padua*, he had taken into his family *Lazarus Bonamico*, of whom mention has already been made among the Reſtorers of learning, and whoſe character he repreſents to *Sadolet* in the following words: "Nothing has prevented me from opening my mind to him, on the ſubject of his Studies, ſo much as my own baſhfulneſs. I could not think it became one ſo little qualified as myſelf, to adviſe a perſon of his years, learning, and diſcretion; though I had every reaſon to be perſuaded he would take, what I had to ſay, in good part. I am acquainted with his humanity, and the integrity of his life. He is exempt from ambition, and all irregular appetites, and has no deſires but of knowledge and virtue."

The University of *Padua* had appointed him chief Professor of polite letters; an employment which his noble Patron thought much beneath the eminent qualities he was master of, and which, as he writes to *Sadolet*, "required something more elevated, than to explain the precepts of speaking, from *Tully*'s Orations; or those of Husbandry, from *Virgil*'s Georgics *. On coming to *Padua*, says he, I had some thoughts of allowing my leisure hours to these studies, having received here the first relish for them; tho' I had laid them aside, some years, in order to give myself wholly to such as were suited to the exigencies of my Country, and the common cause; and I proposed to myself great emolument from the proficiency my friends had made in them: but I now perceive that the latter are so imperious as to demand the whole man, and not even to allow me the vacancy of a passing glance, on what had been the object of my earliest inclinations †. On this account, *Lazarus*

* Cui enim dubium esse potest, si vel ad eam partem Philosophiæ se converteret, in quâ præcepta vitæ traduntur, et animi excolendi ratio ostenditur, quanto majore cum fructu et dignitate hìc commoraretur, quàm si apud Oratores et Poetas manens, orationis formandæ præcepta ex *M. Tullio*, vel agri colendi ex *Virgilio* repeteret? Epist. *R. Poli*, pars 1. p. 413.

† Nosti genus studiorum meorum, quibus me iis proximis annis addixi, quàm imperiosa ipsa sint, quàm non facilè aliorum studiorum societatem admittant. Quibus cùm parere necesse habeam, ad illas elegantiores literas ovix sanè oculos convertere audebam. Sed tamen in *Italiâ*, ubi has primum novi, sperabam me, etsi non plenam vacationem (nunquam enim hoc postulassem) at saltem tantum temporis à severioribus Dominis impetraturum, ut cum veteribus illis amicis, quasi adolescentiæ meæ sociis, et sodalibus jucundissimis, quos longo intervallo non inviseram, familiaritatem renovare possem; atque hac spe fretus *Lazarum* nostrum, quem magistrum atque tutorem harum ingenuarum atque dulcissimarum artium cognoveram, in contubernium vocavi, ut eo duce et adjutore faciliùs quod volebam, consequi possem. *ibid.* p. 410.

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is loſt to me in every other reſpect but that of an eaſy and pleaſing companion. Our ſociety would be much more beneficial to each other, had we the ſame literary purſuits, and a taſte for the ſame ſtudies; but I have never dared to open my mind to him on this matter. One great cauſe of this diffidence was a paragraph in one of your letters, in which you exhort him to continue in his preſent ſtation, as highly honourable to himſelf, and of great utility to the youth of *Italy* *. —He proceeds, to remind *Sadolet*, "that he cannot be ignorant, though their common friend reaped no inconſiderable advantage from the elegant career he was engaged in, yet there were higher attainments, in which he might exert his parts and induſtry with greater commendation to himſelf, and profit to his Auditors.—That he had made great progreſs in Philoſophy, with which Rhetoric and Poetry, either as to uſe or dignity, held no compariſon; ſince whatever was truly profitable and ornamental in each of them, was borrowed from the former; and that he owed the applauſe which attended his lectures, more to this, than to the other two.—That, *Pomponatius* would have beſtowed ſo much pains to bring him acquainted with the wiſdom of Antiquity, to little purpoſe, if all theſe acquiſitions were to be ſhut up in a Grammar School, and nothing more was to be expected from ſuch a proficient, than what qualities, ſo much inferior to his, might acquit themſelves of. I cannot, indeed, ſays he, think of this with indifference; and, ſetting aſide the re-

* Deterreor planè eâ particulâ literarum tuarum, in quâ præſentem *Lazari* ſtatum et conditionem probare niteris: hortaris enim ut in ſuâ ſtatione maneat, ut cùm eam provinciam inſtituendi juvenum animos in politioribus literis ſuſceperit, eam ne relinquat; quam affirmas maximam illi gloriam, et Italicæ juventuti utilitatem ſummam allaturam. Epiſ. *R. Poli*, pars 1a. p. 411.

gard I have for my friend, I cannot overlook the injury done to Philoſophy itſelf, as I am writing to one who is her Patron; nor do I ſcruple to aſk your aſſiſtance in a cauſe, where your friend's honour, and that of your favourite Science is concerned. You will do a ſignal ſervice to both, by taking him from the benches of the Rhetoricians, and reſtoring him to Philoſophy, from which he is now a Truant *.—But you will aſk me, what Philoſophy has to do with thoſe ſtudies, in which I deſire his fellowſhip, and if I have forgot the purpoſe, with which I ſet out in the beginning of this letter? By no means: but ſince I perceive this would be a taſk of great difficulty, I ſhall think, I have gained a main point, if I compaſs what I here mention; and though it would be more deſirable, as we have the ſame houſe, to have the ſame ſtudies, yet, if that cannot be, I ſhall be pleaſed to have him in their neighbourhood, as ſuch a removal will be both for his honour and advantage.—For if he applies himſelf to genuine and real Philoſophy, in ſuch a manner as to live

* Quid verò jam habent Oratorum vel Poetarum literæ vel dignitatis, vel utilitatis, ſi cum Philoſophorum libris comparantur? quæ, ut tu omnium optimè noſtri, ſi quid in ſe contineant, quod hominem ſtudioſum vel ornare vel juvare poteſt, ex horum fontibus hauſerunt: Atque ex horum eſt doctrinâ, non minus quàm ex ea quam profitetur, quod *Lazarum* præceptorem tam gratum acceptumque ſuis Auditoribus reddit. Sed quid eum *Pomponatius*, vir in Philoſophorum libris celeberrimus, tot annos exercuit? quid tot exhauſti labores in veterum Philoſophorum libris evolvendis, ſi tandem Philoſophiam in Rhetoris vel potius Grammatici officina ſit concluſurus? ſi nihil amplius ab eo expectetur, quàm ut Grammatici Scholæ, et puerili doctrinæ ſerviat? Ama me, hoc non libentur video, et, ut nihil jam de amico loquar, hanc tantam Philoſophiæ illatam injuriam reticere non poſſum, præſertim apud te Philoſophiæ ipſius Patronum; neque certè jam dubitem auxilium tuum implorare, ut unâ operâ Amici dignitati et Philoſophiæ honori conſulas. Quod profectò facies ſi à Rhetorum ſcholis abductum in Philoſophiæ eum gremio, unde aufugit, reponas. *R. Poli*, pars 1a. p. 412.

according

according to her preſcriptions, it would not be long before he came over to thoſe ſtudies I recommend; becauſe Philoſophy will be ſo ingenuous as to acknowledge her own inſufficiency to detain and ſatisfy a mind deſirous of truth and virtue. This conceſſion, ſays he, has already been made by *Plato*, the chief Maſter in this Science, who being aſked, how long he would have his doctrine followed? anſwered, till a more venerable perſon ſhould appear in the World, and point out the paths of truth; to whom, as to a God, Mankind was to yield aſſent. And this Divine Perſon having appeared, and eſtabliſhed a holy and everlaſting Law: what ſentiments were we to entertain of Philoſophy, but that ſhe would obey her Parent's orders, and ſend her Scholars to the School ſhe indicates? I make no queſtion but our friend has already heard this voice, though, like a modeſt Diſciple, who has high a opinion of his Inſtructor, he has not given a willing ear to what ſhe has ſaid to her own diſparagement; and will underſtand it better when expounded by one, on whoſe judgment he can rely.—That, not to ſay any thing of the authority of the Parent of Philoſophy, there was no axiom more univerſally received, than that the mind of man could never be led to a perfect perception of truth by human induſtry; to which, if Philoſophy afforded any aſſiſtance, it was to inform us of our ignorance: that this was undiſputed; whereas all other things, tho' they might ſeem to border on truth, had no certainty: that the ſenſes, without which Reaſon itſelf could make ſo ſhort a progreſs in her inquiry after truth, were very unſafe guides; and, like an earth-born miſt, intercepted her rays, and obſtructed their full influence on the mind. God himſelf, therefore, in compaſſion to the wanderings of his Creatures, has vouchſafed to open to them the ſacred Source of Truth, in which every thing was

was liquid and genuine; and therefore, Philoſophy, as he had ſaid before, if ſhe was conſiſtent with herſelf, could direct her Pupils to no other diſcipline.—From all which it appears, that by deſiring our friend might, by your authority, betake himſelf to the ſtudy of Philoſophy, I have pleaded the cauſe of ſomething more noble and uſeful, being well perſuaded, that whoſoever intends to be a Philoſopher indeed, will never ſit down ſatisfied with a Science, which is not ſatiſfied with itſelf, but directs her looks to that which derives its origin from heaven, and without which ſhe has neither foundation or conſiſtency. Wherefore, if he gives himſelf a little to this introductory knowledge, methinks I already ſee him come over to what is more elevated: and having been fully initiated in this divine diſcipline, if he has a mind to return again to human Philoſophy, and adorn what he has a peculiar title to call his own, he will be enabled to do it with much greater advantage, being furniſhed with thoſe aids which therefore flow from the ſource of Truth, that they may be a rule to other inquiries, and preſcribe its proper bounds to every thing beſides. He concludes, with informing *Sadolet*, that whereas theſe were the principal inducements, which would have engaged him to enter, with *Lazarus*, on the argument of divine Philoſophy, he had never been able to prevail on himſelf to open his mouth to him on that ſubject, unleſs it was indirectly, in order to come at his real ſentiments, by propoſing to him the ſtudies of perſons for whom he has the higheſt regard, and, above all others, for *Sadolet*; and put him in mind, by ſuch examples, what ought to be his own views *."

Padua, Oct. 1534.

THESE

* Hæc verò cum maxima invitamenta eſſent ut de cœleſti hac Philoſophiâ cum ipſo agerem, nunquam tamen pudorem meum vincere potuerunt, ut vel verbum cum eo de hac re facerem; niſi fortè obliquè animum ejus tentarem, cùm doctiſſi-

These were the ſentiments of an Engliſh Nobleman at the age of four and thirty; and as yet he muſt be conſidered as a Layman; for though he was Dean of *Exeter*, and had other ſpiritual Preferments, yet he was not in holy orders, nor had ſo much as received the firſt tonſure, which he took, two years after, on the ſame day that the Pope obliged him to accept the Purple †. His judgment cannot but have great weight, as he was no leſs converſant in the whole circle of polite learning, than in that erudition which he here patroniſes with ſo much warmth: Yet there appeared to *Sadolet*, who was equally ſkilled in ſacred and profane literature, ſomething exceſſive in the manner with which he urged an application to the former, as tending to exclude all other knowledge. He replied, therefore, with his uſual candour, "that being well acquainted with Reginald's diſpoſitions, his love of virtue, and that generous ardour, which always carries on great minds to what is moſt excellent, there was nothing ſo ſublime to which he might not aſpire: that he had entertained theſe hopes of him from their firſt acquaintance, and though it gave him a ſingular ſatisfaction to ſee his expectations anſwered, yet he was under no ſmall concern to perceive he made ſo ſlight of attainments, which were of ſuch real importance, that even thoſe of a higher nature, to which his friend very deſervedly gave the preference above all others, could not ſubſiſt without them: And becauſe, ſays he, I have been twice charged by you on this head, this ſeems a ſeaſonable place to give you my opinion briefly on it.—You would, therefore, have the ſtudy of what concerns us, as Chriſtians, preferred to all others;

doctiſſimorum hominum, quos in ſummâ veneratione habet, et maximè tui ipſius ſtudia illi proponerem, ut exemplo eum veſtro admonerem, quò tendere deberet. *R. Poli*, pars 1 a p. 416.

† See his Life by *Becatelli* and *Dudithius*.

and

and in this I readily agree with you. Why then do we employ our time in other Sciences, and particularly in Philoſophy? becauſe we cannot finiſh a building, without laying a foundation, and raiſing the walls. And if it be aſked, what time and attention are to be employed about theſe, that we may at length, wholly give ourſelves to what has the beſt claim to our application; the anſwer is ready, that it is the buſineſs of a prudent Oeconomiſt to take care of the preſervation and welfare of the whole family, not of ſome one part only; but ſtill ſo to temper the care of the whole, that the more valuable parts be chiefly looked to.—That it was viſible, Theology, conſidered as a Science, could not ſubſiſt without Philoſophy, and that neither could gracefully diſcharge their reſpective duties, if they were unprovided of language.—That the pleaſure of finiſhing a production in ſuch ſort as no neglect or deficiency could be diſcovered in it, was too much felt not to be acknowledged; and rewarded the Artiſt by a conſciouſneſs which was grounded in nature itſelf.—But, if this fitneſs in the manner of expreſſing ourſelves might be overlooked, the ſame reaſons might prevail on us to lay it aſide on our geſtures, in our voice and countenance; by all which perſons of an ingenuous education are diſtinguiſhed from others.—That every body was deſirous, that even a Servant, beſides being honeſt and careful, ſhould be clean and decent.—Theſe advantages, though not abſolutely neceſſary to attain the chief Good, yet conduced to it, and had this effect, that ſeveral by this means, came better informed to the purſuit of it: and it was much to be feared, if we only retained what was of mere neceſſity, and rejected every thing elſe, inſtead of becoming equal to Angels, we ſhould ceaſe to be on a level with Men. It was, indeed, our great duty to refer every privilege we enjoyed to God, the Author,

and employ them to his glory; and whoever proceeded on this principle, and aimed, in all his undertakings, at what could give luſtre and dignity to them, had no cauſe to fear either being deluded by vain glory, or diverted from the purſuit of true happineſs.——On theſe motives he was of opinion we ſhould apply ourſelves to the liberal Arts, as long as we had reaſon to be ſatisfied with our proficiency; and, particularly, to Philoſophy, from which the higher and more ſacred attainments drew great ſupport.——That, as to REGINALD's aſſertion, that Theology, engroſſed his leiſure and attention, ſo as to allow him no vacancy for any thing elſe, he tells him ingenuouſly, he is at a loſs in what manner to take ſuch a declaration: for if thoſe things only were to be learnt, in which our faith and truſt in the divine goodneſs and veracity are concerned, the writings, in which theſe points are contained, were neither voluminous nor obſcure: that the Goſpels alone contained the moſt compleat information on theſe heads: but, if the precepts there laid down, were to be expounded with propriety and diſtinction; ſurely, the litigious and uncouth Writers of later times, who extend ſuch a formidable front in all Libraries, and make the ſhelves bend under them, could not afford us greater aſſiſtance than we receive from St. *Paul*, the *Law*, and the *Prophets* *. Few Works, ſays he, are neceſſary in order to underſtand divine matters, but which ſhould be properly choſen and well digeſted; and theſe were ſo far from denying us an opportunity of being converſant in human literature, that this cauſed them to be viewed in a more uſeful light and

* Si verò illa explicanda ſunt uberiùs et enucleatiùs tractanda, an tu plus in eo tibi ab infinitis voluminibus iſtorum, qui ætati noſtræ propinquiores, omnia referſerunt inconditis libris, et litigioſè ſcriptis, quàm à *Paulo*, et *Lege* veteri et *Prophetis*, opis latum iri exiſtimas?

added

added to their dignity. That no one ever dreamed, that thoſe great men of the *Greek* and *Latin* Church, who firſt illuſtrated the tenets of Chriſtianity, could ever have done it with ſuch ſucceſs, if they had been deſtitute of theſe ſuccours: and as to their common friend *Bonamico*, on whoſe account this diſcuſſion had, in ſome part, been renewed, he had never, indeed, thought it neceſſary to encourage him in the ſtudy, which REGINALD had inforced; as he already had a high veneration for it; and readily granted that ſovereign excellence was not to be attained, unleſs to the various endowments he was maſter of, he added the moſt noble and neceſſary of all informations; of which he propoſed to give as ample a commendation
Dec. 1534. in *Hortenſius*, as the nature of the work would admit*."

THIS ſeems to have been the end of this amicable and learned controverſy, it being no where taken up in their future correſpondence. *Bunet*, in a letter to *Selva*, has ſtated the queſtion in debate, and, having weighed the arguments of each ſide, ſeems to incline in favour of our Countryman; and his authority is more conſiderable, as he was every way qualified to decide in ſuch a caſe, having joined great and univerſal knowledge to a life truly Chriſtian; and deſerved, by his writings, the reputation of having revived in *France*, under *Francis* I. the eloquence of the age of *Auguſtus*. When he accompanied the Embaſſadors of that Prince to *Venice*, the Learned of *Italy* made ſuch account of him, that *Paul Manutius* acknowledges himſelf indebted to him for all his ſkill in writing the latin language with purity. He died at *Turin*, in the forty-ſeventh year of his age, having juſt diſcloſed a merit, to which a longer period would have given its full

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 1. p. 418.

maturity.

maturity. In the letter I have cited, he takes notice of the ſatisfaction he had received from being acquainted with REGINALD's happy temper, and unfeigned probity ; and obſerves of *Sadolet*, that though there was no kind of Science in which he did not excel, yet he was wont to ſay, that *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*, who had confeſſedly the lead in Philoſophy, were flat and languid in compariſon of St. *Paul*.

REGINALD being now ſettled at *Padua*, found there, what *Virgil* aſcribes to *Antenor*, its Founder, an agreeable and ſafe retreat, from the devaſtations of his Country, which *Henry*'s paſſions, and *Cromwell*, the inſtrument of them, were, every day, ſpreading wider. But though this City was his chief reſidence, he made frequent excurſions to *Venice*; and as he lived every where with great dignity, the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons of thoſe parts reſorted to him. At *Venice* he became acquainted with *Gaſpar Contareni*, to whom, ever after, he paid the greateſt deference ; of which his letters to him are ſufficient proof. He was, at this time, a conſpicuous Member of the Senate, and being afterwards created Cardinal, and employed in various and difficult negociations, was eſteemed one of the moſt upright and able Miniſters in *Europe*. *Caſa*, who wrote his life, ſays that, being yet a Layman, he had acquired a ſingular and exquiſite inſight into all Chriſtian knowledge, which he made uſe of, not from oſtentation, but as the Rule of Life : and that it was his invariable purpoſe, not only to follow what Philoſophy preſcribes, in order to attain virtue and tranquillity ; but alſo what the Goſpel enjoins, with reſpect to ſanctity and religion. *Caraffa*, likewiſe, who had been Embaſſador from *Leo* X. to the Court of *England*, and was, afterwards founder of the *Theatins*, and raiſed to the

Æn. l. 1. ver. 242.

Papacy,

Papacy, and has received the higheſt commendations from *Eraſmus*, was now at *Venice*, and had contracted an intimacy with Reginald. An eaſy acceſs, together with his high birth, and much more the eſteem which his perſonal qualifications had acquired, enabled him, at *Padua*, to chuſe his Intimates, and this choice was directed by a ſimilarity of manners and diſpoſitions. During his former abode at this Univerſity, he had honoured *Bembo*, *Lazarus Bonamico*, and ſome others, with a particular friendſhip; and he now became acquainted, with *Genua*, *Lampridius* of *Cremona*, and others, who were at this time, the leading Geniuſes of this celebrated Seat of the Muſes. Amongſt theſe was *Coſmus Gherius*, Biſhop of *Fano*, who, though very young, was remarkable for his blameleſs manners, and ſingular erudition. To ſeveral amiable qualities, and great ſtrength of genius, *Genua* added a deſcent from a family, which, after having held the chief command at *Modena* and *Mantua*, retired to that proud City, from which they took their ſurname. The principal Univerſities of *Italy* eſteemed it an honour to have him amongſt their Profeſſors; and the Republic of *Venice* acknowledged the ſenſe ſhe had of his merit, by the munificence with which ſhe rewarded it. Beſides other monuments of his learning, he has left the memory of having had *Zerabella*, *Tomitani*, and *Speroni* for his Scholars, who were in their times, what the *Steels*, the *Walſh*'s, and *Addiſons* were in ours; and now are, what theſe will be with thoſe who come after us. I ought not to omit, for the credit of the other Sex, that his four Daughters, *Paula*, *Helen*, *Laura*, and *Caſſandra*, were in the higheſt eſteem with all the learned in *Italy*. *Gregory Corteſius*, Abbot of St. *George*'s, at *Venice*, was another of this liſt. *Bembo* ſays, " he had been ex-

Epiſ. 174. ad *Leo* X. *Lond*. 28. *Ap*. 1515.

extremely pleaſed with his letters, and that they ſurpaſſed the opinion he already had of his elegance. No one, ſays he, who does not ſee the title prefixed to them, will ſuſpect them to be wrote by a Monk, and to ſpeak plainly, by an ignorant Monk; which adds much to his commendation, for having wiped away a ſtain, which has ſo long diſgraced that name*." Had *Bembo* been witneſs to the obligations which the learned World has ſince had to that order of men, he would have confeſſed, they had made ample amends to the Public, for a neglect, which, for ſo many ages, was not peculiar to them, but common to all degrees of Mankind. REGINALD, in a letter to *Contareni*, joins to *Corteſius*, *Aug.* 1536. *Mark*, a Religious man of the ſame Convent; "They both were with me, ſays he, when I received his Holineſs's orders to repair to *Rome*: their company added new beauties to a place, with whoſe agreeableneſs you are well acquainted; and I ſeemed to be in *Eden* with *Henoch* and *Elias*. How often did we wiſh you to make a fourth of our ſociety!" *Beccatelli*, who held a conſiderable rank in the Univerſity, began now his acquaintance with REGINALD, and having been many years his Secretary, and, at length, Archbiſhop of *Raguſa*, has teſtified his gratitude to his noble Patron, by an elegant relation of the principal actions of his life.

BUT the merit of our Countryman could not appear in a fairer and ſtronger inſtance, than in the memorable attachment which it produced in *Aloyſius Priuli*, a young Venetian nobleman, of an irreproachable life, and a mind equally capable of buſineſs and letters, who being at *Padua*, on

* Ne ſarà huom, che giudichi non leggendo il loro titolo, che elle ſiano di Monacho, e, per dire più chiaro, di frate. *Bemb*. Litt. *Ital*. vol. 1. l. 5.

account of his ſtudies, when REGINALD came to reſide there, was ſo taken with his converſation, temper, and manners, and the admirable qualifications he was endowed with, that he contracted a friendſhip with him, of which, perhaps, there is no other example either in ancient or modern ſtory: for, overlooking the love of his family and country, where he could not have failed to have been raiſed to the firſt employments, he preferred REGINALD POLE's ſociety to all other advantages; accompanied him in all his journies, ſhared the viciſſitude of his fortune, was of ſingular ſervice to him in many difficult and important occaſions, and never left him, till death ended an union, which no incident through life had ever altered*. But, as there will be frequent mention of this illuſtrious perſon, at different periods of his Friend's life, the particulars which relate to him, are reſerved to their proper places.

THE memory of the abovementioned Perſonages, though removed at ſo great a diſtance from our times, and, at a ſtill greater from our manners, is yet freſh; and their connections with him, who is the ſubject of this hiſtory, made the account which is here given of them, neceſſary.

THIS elegance in his manner of living, and his numerous acquaintance, were no obſtacles to great induſtry in his literary purſuits, and to that liberal and univerſal light, in which he conſidered them. His Friends excelling in the ſame attainments, greatly forwarded his progreſs; and theſe advantages enabled him to undertake a very im-

* Erat, præterea, in ejus intimis atque amiciſſimis *Aloyſius Priolus*, Patricius *Venetus*, vir ingenio et literarum cognitione excellens; qui quidem *Poli* conſuetudine ita captus eſt, tantumque animi inductio, et amor erga illum apud ipſum valuit, ut totâ vitâ eum ſequutus ſit, ac, niſi mors, ipſos inter ſe conjunctiſſimè viventes disjungere nihil potuerit. *Dud.* in Vit. *R. Poli.*

portant

portant work, the merit of which appears leſs in the applauſe of thoſe who were intereſted in defence of the cauſe he maintained, than in the pains his adverſaries were at to anſwer it; the conceſſions they have made in its favour; and the earneſtneſs which the King, to whom it was addreſſed, and who is a great part of the ſubject, ſhewed to have it ſuppreſſed. But before I enter on an account of the Work, it is neceſſary to ſet before the Reader thoſe tranſactions which gave occaſion to it, and furniſh the whole matter.

It was now four years ſince Reginald left 1536.
England, which had been a Theatre of as various and deep a Tragedy, as that, or any other nation, had ever been Spectators of, under the wildeſt and moſt frantic of their Tyrants. The affair of the Divorce, as I have already related, being brought before the Pope, and the King and Queen ſummoned to make their appearance, *Henry* had ſent Agents to *Rome*, who all, except Doctor *Benet*, behaved in ſuch a manner, as to give that Court, at whoſe tribunal their Maſter's cauſe was to be decided, too juſt reaſons of offence*. He had, moreover, made a laſt effort on the Queen, to prevail on her to deſiſt from her appeal to *Rome*, and conſent to have the cauſe tried by a Committee of the Biſhops and Nobility: and, at the ſame time, ordered the Concluſions of the Univerſities, which had given their opinion according to his inclinations, to be ſhewed her. *Catharine*'s anſwers to theſe meſſages were uniform; that their Parents had cauſed the lawfulneſs of their marriage to be examined by very able men, before it took place: that the Pope had granted the diſpenſation; and that ſhe ſhould deem the

* See *Caſſali*'s letter, who was *Henry*'s Agent at *Rome*, No. 6. and *Rance*'s, No. 62. in the 3d vol. of *Le Grand*'s *Hiſtoire du Divorce*.

contract valid, till the See of *Rome* declared it otherwise: but, neverthelefs, fhe begged of the Almighty, to fet the King, her Hufband's confcience at reft." *Henry*, little fatisfied with fo reafonable a reply, fent her a threatning meffage, that he would fee her no more, nor receive any letters from her, whilft fhe perfifted in thefe fentiments, for having been his Brother's Wife, fhe could not be his: and he gave her the choice of two or three Country feats, to which fhe might retire.

The Parliament meeting about the fame time, they renewed their attacks on the papal authority and the Clergy: but *Henry*, not being then difpofed to fall in with their ill humour, complained, in his turn, that they withheld feveral of his rights, and demanded redrefs: this the Commons refufed, and, a mifunderftanding enfuing, though the King was advifed to diffolve them, he did not. Both Houfes being prorogued; they reprefented to him, at their firft meeting, the great Sums which the Court of *Rome* drew from *England*, on various pretexts; and defired, particularly, that the Bifhops might be taxed at a very low rate; and if the Pope refufed to fend proper provifions for their confecration, that it might be performed by the Metropolitan, or any two Bifhops appointed by the King, without further trouble. And if the Kingdom fhould be laid under an Interdict, or the King or his Subjects be excommunicated, no regard fhould be paid to fuch cenfures, and divine Service be celebrated, and the Sacraments adminiftered as ufual.

As the fpirit of innovation had now feized the Houfes, they proceeded, towards the end of the Seffion, to abolifh the Oath, which the Bifhops take to the Pope, at their confecration, and drew up another of the like import, which they were to take to the King. Thefe bills paffed both houfes,

houſes, but no more was enacted on this head; their deſign, as it ſeems, being only to intimidate the Pope, and conſtrain him to come into the King's meaſures; accordingly they granted his Majeſty full power to treat with his Holineſs about the firſt fruits, and to ratify or annul the ſtatute concerning the oath, as he ſhould think fit: They did not ſo much as enter it into the Journal of their proceedings, nor did the King cauſe it to be regiſtered till ſome years after. One of the members having ſpoke againſt the Divorce, in the houſe of Commons, and moved that the King might be entreated to cohabit with the Queen; *Henry* ordered the Speaker to ſignify to them his ſurpriſe, that they ſhould meddle in an affair which concerned his conſcience; that his marriage, after mature deliberation, had been condemned by many able Divines and Canoniſts: that, at the age of forty, it might be preſumed he had a ſufficient command of his paſſions; and, under the preſent uneaſineſs of his mind, he could do no leſs than live ſeparately from the Queen. Thus the Seſſions ended on the fourteenth of *May*; and, two days after, Sir *Thomas More* reſigned the Seals.

25th of his Reign.

1532.

THE King now cauſed a ſtrict inquiry to be made into Hereſy, in which the Biſhops ſeconded his capricious and ſanguinary inclinations, with all the rigour of a Spaniſh Inquiſition. A Prieſt was taken into cuſtody, for having aſſerted, from the Pulpit, the Pope's ſupremacy; and another perſon, accuſed of hereſy, was diſmiſſed, on appealing to the King, as ſupreme head of the Engliſh Church. *Clement*, though he complained to *Henry*'s Embaſſadors of theſe proceedings, yet he carried his reſentment no further: he even permitted the King to employ the revenues of certain Abbeys towards the founding of ſix new Biſhopricks; and, notwithſtanding the oppoſition

of *Charles* the Vth's and Queen *Catharine*'s Agents, he received Sir *Edward Karne*, who was ſent to *Rome*, in a new character of the King's
Excuſator. *Apologiſt*, though he came without Credentials. The Doctors *Benet* and *Bonner* were joined with Sir *Edward* in this commiſſion; and, as they had taken their way through *France*, they brought with them the moſt preſſing recommendations from the *French* King, the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, *du Prat*, and *Grandmont*, to the Pope and ſeveral of the ſacred College. But as no ſtreſs could be laid upon the merits of the cauſe, the whole plea reſted on the danger of the King's falling from the Church, and the conſequences of ſuch a defection. Theſe Remonſtrances having no effect, and the Engliſh Agents complaining they could find no Italian Advocates to plead in the King's cauſe, the Pope aſſured them, that thoſe who would undertake it, had nothing to apprehend: and it is probable he gave them this declaration in writing, ſince the Concluſions they drew up, which were printed both at *Rome* and *London*, ſet forth, in their title, the Pope's permiſſion.

16th *Feb.* He then appointed an Audience for all the Parties concerned, and, though at firſt, he thought it moſt convenient to hear them in open Conſiſtory, he, afterwards, changed his mind, and reſolved to give each party a ſeparate hearing. The Emperor's Embaſſadors were firſt admitted in the Chamber of preſence, where the Pope was, with the Cardinal *Monte*. They ſpoke a conſiderable time, and endeavoured, though to no purpoſe, to perſuade his Holineſs, to admit neither Embaſſador nor Apologiſt from the King of *England*. The Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and *Gregory Caſſali*, *Henry*'s Embaſſadors at the Court of *Rome*, were next admitted, and they inſiſted, that the King their Maſter was not obliged to appear, either in perſon or by proxy, and that the

the Court ought to be ſatisfied with the Apologiſt he had ſent, and hear his Advocates ; the Pope, as little ſatisfied with their demands, as he had been with thoſe of the Imperialiſts, received the Stole from the Cardinal *Medici*, and entered the Conſiſtory, from which every one was ordered to depart. The conference which was held with a few Cardinals, on whoſe judgment the Pope chiefly relied, being finiſhed, the Embaſſadors, who were in an ante-chamber, near the Conſiſtory, with their reſpective Attornies, were introduced. The Council for *Henry* opened the cauſe, with aſſerting, that *Rome* not being a ſafe place for the King to appear in, he was not obliged to pay any regard to the Pope's citation ; and added, there was an Apologiſt, who aſked to be heard on the footing only of an Engliſhman, who had the intereſts of his Country at heart. The Queen's Council, who ſpoke next, reproached thoſe who had pleaded the King's cauſe, with falſehood and ſlander, and that, inſtead of ſpeaking to the caſe in queſtion, they either miſrepreſented, or dropped it : and both ſides being now heated, they loſt all reſpect for the Preſence, came to perſonal invectives, and during five months that the affair was debated, all *Rome* flocked to the Conſiſtory as to a Farce, in which the impertinence of the Actors was the ſole entertainment. The Pope, though ſollicited to condemn the King, adjourned the cauſe for ſome months, and endeavoured, in the mean time, to prevail on him to ſend his Apologiſt Credentials, and proper inſtructions ; which if he complied with, he granted him full power to appoint whom he pleaſed, to take information of the affair, in *England* ; and this, he ſaid, was the laſt effort of his indulgence ; ſince the definitive ſentence was neceſſarily to be pronounced at *Rome* : he alſo requeſted the *French* King, who was ſoon to have

a conference with *Henry*, to uſe his intereſt in order to obtain his conſent to ſo equitable a propoſal. But *Henry*'s caſe was already deſperate; and that very interview, from which the Pope entertained ſome hopes of this Prince becoming more practicable, on the affair of the divorce, was the prelude to his final breach with the Queen, and, ſoon after, with the Catholic Church. The impotence of his paſſion would not allow him to leave his Miſtreſs behind, when he ſailed for *Calais*; near which place the two Kings were to meet: but being aware of what his own Subjects and Foreigners would think of ſo unwarrantable a behaviour, he imagined a part of the ſhame might be concealed, if ſhe ſeemed to take this journey on any other errand, but the real. It was intimated, therefore, to *Francis*, that *Henry* would look on it as a courteſy, if he ſignified a 1ſt *Sept.* 1532. deſire that Mrs. *Bullen*, who had lately been created Marchioneſs of *Pembroke*, might accompany him; to which that gay Monarch readily agreed.

THE term prefixed for the King's appearance at *Rome*, either in perſon or by proxy, was now elapſed, and the proceedings againſt him, reſumed: but whilſt the *Engliſh* Agents were amuſing the Pope and the Emperor with various ſhifts and offers on the part of their Maſter, he cut, at once, the Knot, which he had ſo long, in vain, endeavoured to untie, and married Mrs. *Anne Bullen* as ſoon as he returned from *France*. Doctor *Lee*, who was afterwards Biſhop of *Litchfield*, performed the ceremony, the King having aſſured him, he had gained his ſuit, and obtained a diſpenſation to marry whom he thought proper, provided it was done in private, and without witneſſes. The Doctor, though he could not ſuſpect the King would impoſe on him in a matter of ſuch conſequence, yet, as he was about

to begin the ceremony, he desired his Majesty to let him see the Grant he had from the Pope; the King told him, he would. On which He went to the Altar, and putting on the vestments, his difficulties recurred, and, turning to the King, he told him again, it was by all means proper the Pope's brief should be read before witnesses. *Henry* replied, in an angry and reproachful tone, that it was in a place, to which none but himself had access, and that he ought to be credited on his word: on this, *Lee* went on with the service; and, soon after, the new Bride appeared with Child.

AT the next meeting of the Parliament, a Law 1533. passed, by which all appeals to the See of *Rome* were prohibited; all foreign jurisdiction, whether temporal or spiritual was disowned; it was ordered, that all suits should be judged within the Kingdom, and no regard paid to Excommunication on the part of *Rome*: and, if any of the Clergy refused to submit to these orders, they were to be imprisoned for a year, and fined at the King's pleasure; and a *Premunire* was declared to be incurred by all non-compliance. *Warham*, 23d *Aug.* 1532. Archbishop of *Canterbury*, dying at this juncture, *Cranmer*, by Mrs. *Bullen*'s interest, was named to that high dignity; and as the dissolution of the King's marriage with the Queen, had been the principal motive of his promotion, the first return he made to his Patroness, was to rid her of a Rival, by declaring the King's contract with his first Wife, contrary to the divine law. In consequence of this, orders were issued to give her no longer the title of Queen; and the King so far forgot he was a Parent, as to treat the Princess *Mary* with great rigour, forbade her to see her Mother, and declared her incapable of succeeding to the crown; and would, perhaps, have carried his resentments still further, if this young Lady had

had inviolably adhered to the religious advice and example of her Mother. As to the new Queen, her Coronation was attended with all that expence and vanity, which though natural to *Henry* on other occaſions, were now heightened by love: but this Pageantry, which began at *Greenwich* and ended at the Tower, where the Bride landed, was a memorable contraſt of that Scene of diſtraction and infamy, which, three years after, in the ſame place, put a period to her life, reputation, and royalty.

ROME, where the cauſe of the Divorce, though often adjourned, had ever been obſerved with a watchful eye, and deemed a capital concern, was not a ſtranger to theſe proceedings. The Spaniſh faction inſiſted on a definitive ſentence, and the Pope ſtood in need of all his caution to elude their inſtances. He obſerved this conduct, till the injuſtice done to the Queen, the public ſcandal given by the King's ſecond marriage, and the repeated remonſtrances of the Cardinals, who were very much unſatisfied with theſe delays, prevailed on him to decide this long depending affair, and to ſhew no further forbearance towards a Prince, who kept no meaſures with him. The ſentence was, therefore, pronounced, by which the King's marriage with *Catharine* of *Aragon* was declared valid, and he enjoined to ſeparate from *Anne Bullen*, and cohabit with the Queen.

22d *Mar.* 1533. Nothing was added concerning the Cenſures the King was to incur, if he did not comply with the Decree. Theſe, after as patient a delay as the caſe would admit, were, at length, employed by *Clement*'s Succeſſor, *Paul* III. and, though ſet at nought by the Party concerned, were neither leſs deſerved or leſs equitable.

THIS ſentence made as little impreſſion on *Henry*, as the other proceedings of the Court of *Rome*, which were preparatory to it. He had already

already disclaimed the Authority by which it was pronounced; and he, now, began to abolish it, in all its branches, and to make each of them a distinct part of the Prerogative of his own Crown. A Prelate was appointed to instruct the People, every day, from the pulpit at St. *Paul's*, that the Bishop of *Rome* had no more power out of his Diocese, than any other Bishop; and as the King, during the four last years, had taken care to prepare the People for such innovations, they now met with less opposition. In the course of this Session, the whole Jurisdiction which had hitherto been acknowledged in the See of *Rome*, was transferred to the Sovereign; all causes, which had formerly been determined by appeal to the Pope, were reserved to him and his Council; the Bishops were not to meet, but by his order, and their ordinances to have no force, till he had approved them: He was to appoint sixteen members of each house, to examine those already made, and annul all such as were contrary to the Laws of the Realm: on the vacancy of a See, he was to send a commission to the Dean and Chapter, by which they were empowered to proceed to an election; and the Bishop elect was to be consecrated by four others of the King's appointing: His power, in a word, was extended to all matters both of discipline and doctrine. Some Laws against Heretics made in the reigns of *Richard* II. and *Henry* IV. were repealed: but those who relapsed into errors, or refused to abjure them, were condemned, on conviction, to be burnt alive, which law the King caused to be executed with great severity. As supreme head of the Church of *England*, he sometimes presided in person at these judgments; and a letter of *Cromwell* to Sir *Thomas Wyat*, the King's Embassador in *Germany*, gives the following account of one of these Trials. "The King sat openly

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in the Hall, and preſided at the diſputation, proceſs, and judgment of a miſerable Heretic, who was burned on the twentieth of *November*. It was a wonder to ſee how princely, with how excellent gravity, and ineſtimable majeſty, his Highneſs exerciſed the very office of ſupreme head of the Church of *England*. I wiſh the Princes and Potentates of Chriſtendom to have had a meet place to have ſeen it. Undoubtedly they ſhould have much marvelled at his Majeſty's moſt high wiſdom and judgment, and reputed him no otherwiſe than, in a manner, the mirror and light of all other Kings and Princes in Chriſtendom*." But, notwithſtanding this fuſtian, ſuch a diſgraceful Scene does as little credit to the principal Actor, as to the Sycophant who deſcribes it. The King's marriage with *Anne Bullen* was confirmed, and that with *Catharine* of *Aragon*, annulled; and Children born of ſuch alliances were declared illegitimate. By virtue of this act, the Princeſs *Mary* was excluded the ſucceſſion of the crown; and *Elizabeth*, who was lately born, looked on as the next Heir. This order, indeed, laſted no longer than his paſſion for the Mother: when that fit was over, the firſt fruit of his criminal love for her was treated no better than his lawful Iſſue by the Queen: And as the Parliament had no other rule in making or repealing ſtatutes, than the King's capriciouſneſs; his will was no ſooner divined, but they aſſented to it with ſuch abject flattery on his wiſdom and goodneſs, as an *Engliſh* Reader muſt bluſh, that the Repreſentatives of his Nation could have ſo thoroughly forgot what they owed to themſelves and to the Public.

In this manner the ſpiritual Supremacy was conferred on the King and his Succeſſors; and the

* *Collier*'s Church Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 152.

Throne,

Throne, though filled by a Woman, was declared the ſole fountain of Juriſdiction, in whatever concerned Religion. The Clergy attempted, in vain, to withſtand this amazing innovation, and repreſented to the King the inconſiſtency of it with his own moſt ſolemn declarations, publiſhed to the whole world, in the work he wrote againſt *Luther*, from which, amongſt others, they cited the following paſſage: "That *Luther* could not deny that all the faithful Chriſtian Churches of thoſe times acknowledged and reverenced the See of *Rome* as their Primary and Mother: and if this conceſſion was founded neither on human or divine right, how had it prevailed ſo univerſally? how came all Chriſtendom to own it? when did it begin, or by what means, gain ground? That the *Greeks*, before their Schiſm, had acknowleged the primacy of the Latin Church, though the empire was transferred elſewhere. That *Luther*, indeed had the impudence to affirm that the Pope's Supremacy had been uſurped by force and tyranny; but that he muſt have loſt his ſenſes, if he expected to find Mankind ſo ſottiſhly thoughtleſs and ignorant, as to believe that the Biſhop of *Rome*, without arms or temporal force, or human or divine right, ſhould be able to eſtabliſh an authority over the whole epiſcopal order, through ſo many different nations, ſo diſtant from him, and which could have no reaſon to dread his power: or that thoſe Kingdoms and ſtates ſhould be ſo prodigal of their own liberty, as to ſubmit themſelves, for ſo many ages, to a foreign prieſt, if he had no lawful claim to ſuperiority." * In this manner thoſe, who dared to diſſent from the King reaſoned: *But the voice of the Charmer, who charms wiſely, was in vain applied to the Adder, the deaf Adder, that ſtops her ear.* *Pſalm* 58.

* Defen. Sacram. contra *Luth.*

THIS

THIS account of the Divorce was neceſſary to place REGINALD's conduct in a true light, as he not only refuſed the ſecond Church preferment in the kingdom, and a diſtinguiſhed degree in his Prince's favour, rather than approve of it; but every where in his writings repreſents this ſhameful and diſaſtrous affair, and the means which were uſed to bring it about, as the effect of thoſe paſſions which chiefly diſgrace human nature, and overthrow ſtates; *the inconſtancy of luſt, falſehood, and revenge.* And that nothing might be wanting to give the iniquity of the whole proceeding every aggravation it admitted of, which *Henry* always took care ſhould be the characteriſtic of his tranſgreſſions; the impious farce of conſcience was acted, and the fear of an offended God pretended as the motive of an action, in which all laws, human and divine, were violated.

Wiſdom ch. 14. v. 26, 27.

BUT the ſcandal of this event was quite ſunk in the immediate conſequence of it, the renouncing the Pope's ſupremacy, and ſeparating from the Catholic Church, which now engroſſed the attention of all *Europe*, and involved all REGINALD's future life, not only during that Prince's reign who cauſed it, but through the two following. *Henry* had no ſooner taken on him the title of Head of the Church, but he was deſirous to have his kinſman's ſentiments of his claim to it. It cannot be ſuppoſed, that he entertained any real doubt what they were; but he choſe this ſhould be the date of that implacable enmity, with which he, ever after, perſecuted him and his Family.

HE was at *Ravelone*, a country ſeat belonging to his friend *Priuli*, at ſome diſtance from *Venice*, when he received the King's orders. They were inforced by the treatiſes of *Sampſon*, and *Gardiner*, Biſhops of *Chicheſter* and *Wincheſter*, in defence of the lay ſupremacy. He ſent the work of the latter to *Contareni*, who was then at *Rome*, to have his

his opinion of it; and on receiving his anſwer, that the arguments made uſe of were very weak, but ſet off with great art; he replied, that it was the judgment he had made of it, and added, he muſt apply to the Author what is ſaid of Gameſters, that their dexterity only enables them to be greater cheats. He had been informed of the ſituation of affairs in *England*, and had already begun a work *on the Church's Unity*; and the diſpatches he lately received on the King's part, diſcovered to him ſtill more the neceſſity of treating this Argument in a manner ſuited to the preſent exigencies. As this is the moſt celebrated and important of all REGINALD POLE's writings, the Reader will not be diſpleaſed to learn, from himſelf, ſeveral uſeful and entertaining particulars, which have a relation to the Work, and ſerve, more than any thing elſe, to give an inſight into the character of the Author.

"MANY reaſons, ſays he, writing to *Charles* V. concurred to reduce me to the neceſſity of undertaking this ſubject. The firſt of which was the King's poſitive commands to write; though not, indeed, againſt himſelf: yet the ſubject, on which he ordered me to ſend him my opinion, brought on this conſequence. I had retired from my Country and Friends, at a time when they became moſt dear and neceſſary, that I might have no ſhare in meaſures which I could not approve, and muſt have been involved in, had I ſtayed. I ſhould have been under a neceſſity either of acting againſt my own conviction, the King's honour, and the welfare of my Country, if I conſented to what he required; or, on my refuſal, of provoking his indignation againſt myſelf, and all who belonged to me.—My tenderneſs for him, however, was ſuch, that no authority, no perſuaſion, had yet been able to make me depart from the reſolution I had taken, of being ſilent on theſe

matters,

matters, though ſeveral perſons, for whom I had the greateſt deference, were of opinion I ought to have acted otherwiſe. He ſent, therefore, his commands, when he had not the leaſt reaſon to ſuſpect I ſhould interfere with his proceedings; when there was no farther room for deliberation; when his reſolution was taken, and he had made it capital for any one to oppoſe it. This Law was enacted with ſuch rigour, that no merit, however conſpicuous could ſcreen thoſe whom it included. Neither dignity, nor rank, nor learning, nor virtue; nor love and friendſhip of the longeſt ſtanding, were any plea for exemption; and the two greateſt Lights, which this Iſland had ſeen, were put to death for refuſing to comply with it.—Theſe examples, he knew, were come to my knowledge; and he vainly imagined the terrour of their influence, and the deſire of returning to my Country and acquaintance, which, otherwiſe, I muſt, for ever, relinquiſh, would bring me to a compliance: and, in that caſe, my authority would be of greater weight with my Countrymen, as I had hitherto been more backward in yielding to his will.—His orders were, that I ſhould ſend him my opinion in terms ſo clear and explicit, as to exclude all ambiguity and ſubterfuge; and if I failed in ſo doing, I ſhould incur his higheſt diſpleaſure.—And here, ſays REGINALD, I muſt confeſs, had the caſe propoſed been of a doubtful nature, and not openly repugnant to the divine Law; the affection I bore my Country and Relations, might have been a powerful inducement to act, as I was required. For, as to the penalties, with which I was threatened, and the violent deaths of thoſe great men, which were placed before my eyes, they were ſo far from alarming my fears, that I ſaw in them the ſtrongeſt motives to ſupport, with an unſhaken reſolution, the cauſe in which they had lain down their lives. And, if the alternative was not

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to be avoided, I would have renounced whatever was desirable, rather than purchase the enjoyment on the terms the King offered. I was confirmed in these sentiments not so much by the many and cogent reasons which I had gathered from the writings of others, or from what my own thoughts had suggested, in the long and repeated reflections I had made on the affair, as by that single argument with which the blood of these Champions, shed in this cause, furnished me. That the divine Veracity has always manifested itself by such evidence, we are assured, first, by His death, who was Truth itself; and, afterwards, by those legions of Witnesses, who have attested the same doctrine, in all parts, and through all ages of the world. I beheld, therefore, the hand-writing of God in their sufferings, whose past life was a sufficient proof of the favour they had found with him; and I could not but reverence the sign and subscribe to it.—These considerations banished from my breast all that dread, which the image of what they had undergone, or any other apprehension from still more affecting subjects might have raised: they armed me with a generous confidence, and gave me understand what were the true objects of fear and hope. I was encouraged to withstand a Prince, who had appointed so iniquitous a punishment to so equitable and religious a tenet; and enabled to express myself with a spirit and ease, of which, the Work, I believe, is a proof*."—The two great examples here pointed out, were Sir *Thomas More*, and *Fisher*, Bishop of *Rochester*, and nothing can so much illustrate the justness and force of REGINALD's reasoning on the merits of the cause he supports, as the characters of these Persons who died in defence of it.

* Apologia *Reginaldi Poli*, ad *Carolum* V. Cæsarem, super quatuor libris à se scriptis, de Unitate Ecclesiæ, No. 2°. et *seq*.

The worth of the former is ſo univerſally acknowledged, that it would be needleſs to reſume it here, did not the nature of the work require I ſhould not be quite ſilent on ſuch a ſubject. He was one of the greateſt Ornaments, if not the greateſt, in every kind of various excellence, this nation has ever boaſted. His prudence, underſtanding, and temper, ſeemed to vie with each other, and could be ſurpaſſed by nothing but a diſintereſtedneſs, probity, and ſenſe of religion, which rendered the man, the magiſtrate, and the chriſtian compleat. Theſe more uſeful and valuable endowments were heightened by an exquiſite erudition, and knowledge not only of the laws of his country, but of thoſe more extenſive ties which unite all men and all nations; and made him equal to the embaſſies he diſcharged, and the ſupreme magiſtracy he was inveſted with. The exigencies of the times induced him, in the latter years of his life, to apply himſelf to Theology; and his proficiency in this Science enabled him to diſtinguiſh the proper extent of civil power, and of that juriſdiction, which the Lawgiver of Chriſtianity would have exerciſed by thoſe only, to whom he committed it. This enlarged knowledge and capacious mind was rendered amiable by a condeſcenſion of behaviour, an eaſe in public and ordinary occaſions, of which hiſtory affords few or no inſtances. He brought up his family to the ſame arts, of which he was ſo great a Maſter; and the letters which he wrote to them are ſome of the moſt finiſhed pieces which the latin language affords. To this integrity of a Magiſtrate, the abilities of a Stateſman, and the elegance of a polite Scholar, he joined the virtues of domeſtic life, the penitence of a Recluſe, and the Chriſtian ſimplicity of a Child. Being poſſeſſed of the firſt poſt which a Layman can be honoured with, he aſſiſted, in a ſurplice, as a menial Clerk, the Prieſt at the

the holy Sacrifice, and going through the Hall, to take his Seat as High Chancellor, as he paſſed by the King's bench, where his Father was a Judge, he always aſked his bleſſing, on his knees. In the rigours of a priſon, ſuch as *Henry*'s temper, and *Cromwell*, the inſtrument and deviſer, could inflict; and the captious interrogatories, which were put to him, on his trial, he exerted a patience and ſteadineſs worthy the other parts of his conduct; and made that memorable reply to the Sollicitor General, who objected to him his diſagreement from the ſenſe of the nation; "that if he differed from one kingdom, he had all antiquity and all other nations on his ſide." During an impriſonment of twelve months, every baſe artifice, by which Tyranny is ſupported, and which Tyrants make uſe of, was practiſed to ſhake his reſolution; but with as little ſucceſs as the Lawyer had applied his argument. He compoſed, in his confinement, a Commentary on part of our Saviour's paſſion; and, being brought to the ſcaffold, laid his head on the block with the ſame chearfulneſs, which accompanied him in the actions of ordinary life. His memory has been borne down the ſtream of Time with ſo favourable a gale, that no character ſeems to have been more cheriſhed. "Foreigners, ſays REGINALD POLE, who never ſaw him, were ſo affected with the news and circumſtances of his death, that they could not refrain from weeping: and, as to myſelf, who write this at ſo conſiderable a diſtance of time, though I had few perſonal connections with him, yet loved and honoured his probity, and knew the great emoluments his Country received from it; God is my witneſs, that involuntary tears fall from my eyes, which blot out what I have wrote, and almoſt hinder me from going on with the ſubject*."

* Apol. ad *Carolum* V. Cæſ. §. 20.

I SHALL give the character of the other of these Worthies, *Fisher*, Bishop of *Rochester*, as REGINALD, who seems to have been particularly acquainted with him, has drawn it. "Nothing, says he, addressing his discourse to the Emperor, could be so reasonable a prejudice against the new Supremacy as the integrity of the Leaders who opposed it.—If any one had asked the King, before the violence of his passions had hurried him out of the reach of reason and reflection, whom of all the Episcopal order, he chiefly considered? on whose affection and fidelity he most relied? he would, without any hesitation, have answered, the Bishop of *Rochester*. When the question was not put to him, he was accustomed, of his own accord, to glory that no other Prince or Kingdom had so distinguished a Prelate. Of this I was witness, when, turning to me, on my return from my travels, he said, he did not imagine I had met with any one, in foreign parts, who could be compared to him, either for virtue or learning. This advantageous judgment of his Prince, was repaid by an equal zeal and fidelity in the Bishop. He constantly professed, that besides the obligations common to all subjects, he had that, of the King being born in his Diocese, and residing more frequently in it than elsewhere: and that his Majesty's Grandmother, whose Ghostly Father he had been, and who survived the late King and Queen, had recommended her Grandson to his peculiar

Sir *Thomas More*'s life has been wrote in latin with great judgment, by Dr. *Stapleton*, and printed at *Douay*, anno 1588; in which there are several original Letters of the Chancellor: The work is not uncommon, and is to be found in most Sale Catalogues.—It was likewise wrote by his great Grandson, *Roper*; and, lately, with great candour, by Dr. *Warner*. *Gratiani*, Bishop of *Amelia*, his Cotemporary, has given an abstract of his life, and an account of his sufferings and death, in his treatise *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium sui ævi*, with that elegance which is peculiar to all his writings.

care.

care. She was a perſon, ſays REGINALD, of great prudence, who was aware of the dangers of Royalty, when it falls to the lot of youth; and being about to leave the world, ſhe, with many tears, entreated the Biſhop, though ſeveral excellent men were alſo preſent, to aſſiſt the King by his inſtructions and advice; and deſired her Grandſon to have a deference for him, preferably to all others, as what would moſt contribute to his felicity both here and hereafter. He had, moreover, this inducement, to be vigilant in the King's welfare, as he was the only ſurviving Counſellor of his late Majeſty. The caſe, therefore, of the Supremacy, which was of the higheſt concernment, and required the moſt conſummate learning, being propoſed to him, he had anſwered in a manner becoming his regard for his Prince, and his own great knowledge *; nor could he be induced by threats or promiſes, which were firſt made uſe of, to recede from an opinion, which his duty to God, and the fidelity he owed his Sovereign, had prompted him to deliver. This was the crime for which *Henry* cauſed two ſentences to be paſſed on him, equally cruel and unjuſt; by the firſt, he condemned to perpetual impriſonment an old man, ſo weak, that he almoſt expired when he was led to trial: by the other, after a fifteen months confinement, in which, as appears from a letter he wrote to *Cromwell* †, he was left deſtitute of common neceſſaries, he was beheaded. Nor did *Henry*'s unrelenting rage end here; he ordered the body ſhould remain on the place of execution, which no one dared approach, unleſs it was to inſult, and ſtrip of a tattered Caſſock that covered

* The Speech he made on this occaſion, is preſerved by Lord *Herbert*, in his life of *Henry* VIII. page 362.

† This letter may be ſeen in *Fuller*'s Eccl. Hiſt. who has given a very circumſtantial and intereſting account of Biſhop *Fiſher*'s execution.

it.—This was the end of a Prelate venerable for his age, learning, virtue, and ſervices; and who was not only of the Epiſcopal order, but had lately been honoured with the purple.

"NOTWITHSTANDING the encouragement which ſuch examples gave me, this objection, ſays REGINALD, ſtill occurred; that I could not do juſtice to the cauſe, in which theſe Chiefs had ſo conſpicuouſly exerted themſelves, as their very death informed me, without expoſing to infamy a reputation which was dearer to me than my own. I here, ſays he, felt that conflict which oppoſite inclinations never fail to raiſe; and having repreſented the jarring ſentiments of a mind at variance with itſelf, and the motives which, at length, determined him, he goes on to give the Emperor the following account of the manner in which he acquitted himſelf of that difficult taſk, of reproving and giving advice to his Sovereign.

"THE Work, ſays he, is divided into four books: in the firſt of theſe, I refute the Supremacy the King has taken on himſelf, and a treatiſe wrote in defence of it, which, by his orders, was ſent me from *England*. The ſecond aſſerts the Prerogative of the See of *Rome*, and anſwers the objections made againſt it. In the third, I ſound in the King's ear the voice which the guiltleſs blood he has ſhed, and the horrour of his other actions, raiſes up to heaven againſt him: Having thus diſcharged what I owed to Truth and my Country's welfare, in the laſt part I caſt myſelf at the King's feet: I conjure him to take in good part what I had wrote, as it proceeded from zeal and affection; and, on this conſideration, to excuſe me, if any where I ſeem to exceed thoſe bounds, which cuſtom has preſcribed to Subjects, when they treat with their Prince."—This is the account which he gave the Emperor of the performance, ſome years after it was finiſhed: but the Work itſelf, even

whilſt

whilſt he was writing it, gave riſe to ſome Anecdotes no leſs pleaſing than inſtructive.

As it advanced, he ſent the ſheets to be reviſed by *Contareni* and *Priuli*, who were then at *Rome*, and both were of opinion, that he had treated *Henry* with too little reſerve, who could not but be highly offended to ſee himſelf attacked in ſo open a manner, and would wreak his vengeance on the Author, and on all who belonged to him. To this REGINALD replied, "that their obſervations were very juſt; and that he was aware of them: but ſince flattery and temporizing had hitherto been the ſource of all the Evil, the only remaining hope was in expoſing the naked truth. However, ſays he, when you have read the work, if, notwithſtanding what I have ſaid at the beginning and end, you ſtill think it wants other correctives, I ſubmit it to thoſe you judge proper, having nothing more at heart than your approbation." In another letter to *Priuli* he adds, "that he had entered on the blameable part of the King's character with the utmoſt reluctance; that his welfare alone had engaged him to do ſo, which he could never attain, unleſs he was brought to a ſenſe of his failures: and how can this be compaſſed, ſays he, unleſs they are placed before his eyes, and who will undertake this taſk but myſelf? I ſet his happineſs above all other conſiderations, and there is no ſacrifice I would not make to procure it.—But you will reply, that I have not taken a proper method to attain it. All I can ſay is, that he has been hitherto treated, to no purpoſe, with the greateſt lenity; and that nothing has contributed ſo much to caſt him into this abyſs of exemplary vice, as the diſſimulation of it." In this judgment of *Henry*, a very ſpirited Hiſtorian agrees with REGINALD; and obſerves, that ſervile adulation cauſed him, among other evils, to make his own ſentiments the ſtandard of the reſt

of Mankind *. REGINALD's reaſons ſeem to have ſatisfied *Contareni*, there being nothing more of this objection to be met with afterwards, in their letters to each other: and when the Work, four years after, was printed without any alterations, He ſpeaks of it, " not only as an elegant and learned performance, but as the leaſt equivocal earneſt the Author could have given his Prince of his zeal and affection."—The peculiar character of this excellent perſonage, ſeems to place his teſtimony, in this affair, above all exception; *Paul* III. ſent him to confer with the Proteſtants at *Ratiſbon*; and all *Germany* was charmed with his integrity, learning, prudence, and moderation. His lenity was ſuch in this Religious negociation, that thoſe, to whom his merit was troubleſome, accuſed him of favouring heterodox opinions. Time, indeed, and better information, ſoon removed the prejudices which ſuſpicion and malevolence had ſpread through all *Italy*; and his character has been tranſmitted to us more pure and valuable from this attempt to injure it.

THE Work being now finiſhed, *Priuli*, who was on his return from *Rome*, ſignified to REGINALD, *Contareni*'s deſire of ſhewing it to the Pope: to which he returned this diſcreet anſwer. " That *Contareni* had a right to lay on him whatever commands he pleaſed: that nothing could be more agreeable to him than that the Pope ſhould read ſome part of what he had wrote; for, as to the whole, he knew more important affairs would not allow him leiſure to go through with it: But his unwillingneſs aroſe from an apprehenſion that it might be known in *England*, that a work, which he had addreſſed to the King, had, contrary to all order, been firſt ſent to the Pope; which pro-

* *Hume*, vol. 1. of the *Tudors*, p. 229, in the note; and through the King's whole life.

ceeding, he ſays, would be detrimental to him on ſeveral accounts. That this apprehenſion was not owing to any diſtruſt of the Pope's ſecrecy; but, being acquainted with the genius of Courts, he had always obſerved, that though Princes are ſaid to have many eyes, yet thoſe who are about their perſons, and watch them, and every thing that concerns them, have many more. You ſee, he concludes the grounds of my diffidence, which if it can be removed, I ſhall not only have no reluctance in conſenting to *Contareni*'s propoſal, but ſhall greatly rejoice at it *."

REGINALD had now nothing more to do, than to ſend the King a work, which was no more than an implicit deference to his commands, of giving him his real ſentiments on the Supremacy he had aſſumed, in the cleareſt and moſt diſtinct terms. Yet he confeſſes, that he ſtill laboured under great difficulties on account of his family, on whom he foreſaw, as it happened, that *Henry* would wreak that vengeance which he could not execute upon him. At length, ſays he, conſiderations of a higher order prevailed over the ſtrongeſt ties of nature; and I no longer dared to refuſe this laſt and greateſt ſacrifice I owed to duty. He adds, that, before he had taken this final reſolution, as he was looking over the work, not without ſome thoughts of ſuppreſſing it, and finding, to his no ſmall wonder, thoſe ſheets to be wanting, in which the King's reputation had been treated with greater freedom, than in the other parts; he ſuſpected they had been purloined with a malevolent deſign of ſhewing them to his Majeſty, and raiſing his choler againſt the Author, and that this had determined him not to delay ſending the entire work to him.

AT the ſame time, ſays he, "I wrote a pri-

* Epiſt. *Reginaldi Poli*, p. 1, pag. 443.

vate

vate letter to him, full of affection and duty, that I might disappoint their malevolence who had secreted the papers, and incline him to excuse the frankness, with which I had given my advice, if he did not think fit to follow it: I assured him, that what I had wrote, had been wrote to him alone; and been communicated to nobody, from whom his reputation could suffer: I begged of him to consult his fame, and those other interests which were still nearer: that, as for my own part, I desired nothing so earnestly, as to change my style, and publish his praises with a joy equal to the grief I then felt in bewailing his disorders. That, in the mean time, I would suppress the work as long as I had any hopes of acknowledging in a more pleasing argument, how much I was indebted to him for my education, and so many other marks of his royal bounty *."

A CRISIS happened at this juncture, as REGINALD observes, writing afterwards to *Edward* VI. which seemed, of all others, the most suited to awaken in *Henry*'s mind a sense of his misdemeanors, which was the only purpose of the work he was about to send him. This was the unfortunate end of Her, who had been the cause of the King's and the Nation's misfortunes.—*Anne Bullen*, having been tried by a commission of twenty-six Peers, was found guilty of incontinency and incest, and condemned to be burnt or beheaded, as the King should be pleased to order; and the sentence had been executed accordingly. Her
19th *May*, 1536. Brother, the Lord *Rochfort*, and some others were condemned and put to death, at the same time, as Accomplices in the Queen's guilt.

SHE had been educated at the Court of *France*, which was then a School of Gallantry, and had returned to *England*, a great proficient in it. Her

* Apol. *R. Poli*, ad *Car*. Cæs. c. 5.

skill

ſkill in muſic, in dancing, and dreſs, and the like accompliſhments, ſoon captivated a ſenſual Prince, who had no other ſtandard of female merit, but ſuch allurements. She had imbibed the doctrine of *Calvin*; and the Broachers of theſe novelties had found no readier method of ſpreading them, than by inſinuating themſelves into the good opinion of the Ladies about the Court. They effected this by a particular profeſſion of polite learning, which then began to appear in *France*, and in which ſeveral of *Calvin*'s Diſciples, no leſs than their Maſter, excelled. But, on coming to *England*, ſhe ſecretly favoured the tenets of *Luther*: and, indeed, the latitude which the Patriarch of that Sect allowed his followers, and which he afterwards extended to licenſe Polygamy, in favour of the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, could not but appear very commodious to the general tenour of her life. As ambition was her ruling, though not her only paſſion, that had ſcarcely gained its end, when other inclinations, of a leſs ſpiritual nature, began to ſollicit their proper gratifications, and make her overlook the dangers, with which ſhe was threatened from his temper, who had put away a lawful wife to make room for her. Some Writers have aſſerted, that like *Agripina*, who provoked her own Son to inceſt, with a view to ſecure her power, when ſhe perceived the unweildy habit of the King's body to be but ill ſuited to his impatience of having a male heir, ſhe judged her Brother's vigour moſt proper to procure this tie of her huſband's affections, without any riſk of diſcovery.* The Letters of *Henry* to her, which are ſtill preſerved in the *Vatican* Library, do no great honour to his paſſion; and there is one expreſſion, amongſt others, as I well remember, below even the coarſeneſs of *Thames-ſtreet* Gallantry. Whether

* This Crime imputed to *Anne Bullen*, might have been worded more correctly. *Errata*, Oxf. *Edit.*

ther his Miſtreſs's qualities were unfit to raiſe a purer flame, or *Henry*'s breaſt was not ſuſceptible of more polite ſenſations, certain it is, that we rather diſcover the King, to whom beaſtly *Skelton* was Laureat, than the man of elegance who invited over *Raphael* and *Michael-Angelo.* Her fate was conſidered not merely as a puniſhment, but as a divine judgment; and the crowd that thronged to the place of execution, gazed on her with unconcern, as a ſhew they came to be ſpectators of, but in which they took no part. Her pride, even then, did not forſake her, and ſhe ſaw, with a diſdainful air, the indifference with which the world gave her up; and aſſuming a haughtineſs, which the infamy of the circumſtances ſhe lay under had not abated, ſhe told them, "ſhe died their Queen, whether they would or not." During her confinement, her broken ſpeeches and whole behaviour had betrayed a wild and diſordered mind, and all the dread of approaching death, without any ſenſe of the guilt which had occaſioned it. The Scene being now to cloſe, and the Executioner, who, on account of his expertneſs, had been ſent for from *Calais*, offering to bare her neck, on which he was, ſo ſoon, to perform a rougher office, ſhe thruſt him from her; and turning to her Women, gave them a caution, which her own example had ſo little inforced, of behaving in ſuch a manner as to keep their honour unſtained. Then laying herſelf down on the Scaffold, and preſerving a decency ſhe had been unmindful of on more important occaſions, ſhe drew her garments below her feet; and received the ſtroke which finiſhed a life of levity, error, and lewdneſs *.

A FEW

* *Stow*, *Fuller*, *Burnet*, *Collier*, *Echard*, and our Hiſtorians, in general, ſeem to agree in this character of *Anne Bullen*, as each of them relates ſome of the particulars here mentioned:

A FEW months before this memorable Cataſtrophe, *Catharine* of *Aragon* ended a life, the whole tenour of which had been as different from that of this unfortunate Woman, as the manner in which ſhe concluded it. *Anne* had teſtified, on this occaſion, a triumph inconſiſtent both with decency and humanity; and as the departed Queen was only mourned as Prince *Arthur*'s Relict, ſhe had diſtinguiſhed herſelf by a dreſs, which inſulted the memory of a Princeſs, whoſe virtues were as great a reproach to her conduct, as the legitimacy of her marriage had been a legal impediment to her pretenſions. *Catharine* poſſeſſed, in an eminent degree, thoſe qualities for which the Spaniards ſtill hold her Mother in veneration; and they had been cultivated by an education ſuited to the piety and ſoftneſs of her own ſex, and to the manly arts of government of ours. The King her huſband, at the expedition

mentioned: *Saunders*, who was nearer thoſe times, adds more: and *Gratiani*, Biſhop of *Amelia*, a cotemporary Writer, who reſided in *England*, and who was very converſant in what concerned it, omits not one of them. *Grat.* de Caſibus Virorum Illuſtrium ſui Ævi, p. 266.

The whole of this account is greatly corroborated by what Lord *Herbert* relates of this unfortunate Woman, and ſtill more by what he inſinuates. (life of *Hen.* VIII. p. 381.) A letter to the King, ſuppoſed to have been wrote by her, when ſhe was in the Tower, is cited by our Hiſtorians; and given by Mr. *Addiſon*, as an inſtance of that eloquence, by which Innocence in diſtreſs expreſſes itſelf. But ſhe, who was ſo well acquainted with the King's cruel and unrelenting temper, and yet declares, on the Scaffold, *that there never was a gentler and more merciful Prince*, might, with as little regard to veracity, perſiſt in the denial of a crime, of which ſhe ſtood convicted. The noble Hiſtorian abovementioned makes it very doubtful, whether the letter itſelf be genuine, and ſays, he gives it the Reader *without any other credit than that it was ſaid to be found among the Papers of* Cromwell; *and ſeemed ancient and conſonant to the matter in queſtion:* yet this, as he confeſſes, was only a Copy, and he had never ſeen the Original.

againſt *Terouane*, left her Regent, and ſhe defeated the *Scottiſh* army, took the King Priſoner, and ſhewed a prudence and reſolution equal to ſuch a truſt. Nor was ſhe more the *courageous woman*, celebrated for *the confidence repoſed in her, in public affairs, and when ſpoils were to reward her valour*, than in thoſe leſs equivocal inſtances of ſteadineſs, an unwearied application to the duties of her ſtation, as Conſort, Queen, and Mother. She ſupported with patience the King's capriciouſneſs, and the injury done to her bed, and behaved with a dignity, which, though it did not recall her huſband's affections, yet would not allow him to deny her his eſteem. The hardſhips of her latter years never betrayed her into any conceſſion contrary to her royal ſtate, or prejudicial to her Daughter's rights, when every method was employed to make her derogate from each. Though treated with rigour by her Huſband; and ſlighted by the Retainers of a Court, who look on no Index, on which royal favour does not ſhine, the ſame greatneſs of mind ſupported her in ſo conſpicuous a manner, that the privy Council, in the Articles they drew up againſt her, were not aſhamed to tax her with "an undaunted ſpirit, and a reſolution that nothing could ſhake." This, indeed, muſt have appeared highly criminal in their eyes, whoſe abject codeſcenſion was the very reverſe of that character, with which they here reproach the Queen. *In the ſpring of life*, and amidſt all the blandiſhments of the higheſt fortune, *ſhe had been mindful of her Creator*; gave liberal alms; obſerved, with a penitential exactneſs, the faſts appointed by the Church; and ſpent ſeveral hours of the day in prayer, on her knees bared; and was a pattern of ſerioufneſs in the centre of riot and diſſolution. Like the accompliſhed Woman whoſe portrait *Solomon* has drawn, ſhe thought it

Proverbs, ch. xxxi. ver. 11.

Eccleſ. ch. xii. v. 1.

no

no diſparagement *to handle the ſpindle and diſtaff*, Prov. ch. xxxi. ver. 19.
and taught the Ladies of the Court, by this example, to avoid idleneſs, at the ſame time that ſhe inſtructed them in thoſe ſublimer virtues, which are ſo ſeldom the inhabitants of the Seats of opulence. Being commanded to leave the Palace, ſhe retired to *Kimbolton*, where ſhe paſſed the remainder of her life in ſuch exerciſes of Religion as became her circumſtances; and being near her end, dictated a letter to the King, which ſhewed, at once, the compoſure of her mind, her conjugal affection, and care for the Princeſs *Mary*, the only offspring that ſurvived her. The King did not refuſe the tribute of a tear to the news of her death; and though he proſecuted the memory of her Rival with contempt and execration, he was not ſo totally loſt to all ſenſe of humanity and worth, as to deny his eſteem to that of *Catharine* of *Aragon**.

BUT, to go back to REGINALD POLE; he had no ſooner heard the diſgraceful end of *Anne Bullen*, but he judged it a favourable circumſtance to apply a remedy to evils, the cauſe of which was now removed. He obſerves, that every one foreſaw the King, at this juncture, would either return to the laudable paths he had forſaken, or wander beyond all hopes of recovery. "For my own part, ſays he, I was willing to expect a change anſwerable to the deſperateneſs of his caſe, and that he would not be ſatisfied with a mediocrity in virtue, after having ſo ſhamefully deſerted her." He ſeized, therefore, the opportunity, and ſent the Work *on the Church's Unity*, to him; not doubting but he ſhould be able to judge of

* She died on the 8th of *Jan.* 1536, and was buried, by the King's orders, in the Abbey Church of *Peterborough*. *Stow*, *Fuller*, *Collier*, *Burnet*, *Echard*, *Hume*, to ſay nothing of the Roman Catholic Hiſtorians, are unanimous in her commendations.

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the impreſſion it made, from his manner of receiving it. "In this, ſays he, I was not deceived, for he immediately ſent back the perſon, who carried the work, and wrote to me by the ſame Meſſenger. He endeavoured, indeed, to conceal his real ſentiments; and let me know, with tolerable temper, that he was not diſpleaſed at what I had wrote; but becauſe the debate was in a matter of great concern, and much might be ſaid on each ſide of the queſtion, it would be difficult to diſcuſs it by letters. He ordered me, therefore, to return immediately to *England*, and added, he would admit neither of excuſe or delay." *Cromwell*, likewiſe, whoſe ſpiritual and temporal power was uncontrouled, wrote to him to haſten his journey with the utmoſt expedition, as his arrival would be agreeable to the King, in proportion as it was ſpeedy. This artifice muſt have laid *Henry* quite open, even to a leſs quick-ſighted perſon than him for whom the ſnare was deſigned, as there was no change in his proceedings, and REGINALD ſays, he ſaw, like the cautious animal in the fable, the footſteps of thoſe who went into the Lion's den, but none of any who came out *. His anſwer, therefore, was "that he would return to his Country, when he could do it with honour and ſafety." This was the ſubſtance of the letter, but ſeveral ſoothing things were intermixed, to take off the harſhneſs of ſuch a refuſal; and the ſame Courier, who was a Domeſtic of REGINALD, and who had carried his work to the King, was the bearer; for *Cromwell* had exacted a promiſe from him, to come back to *England*, though his Lord ſhould not †.

* Apol. ad Cæſarem, c. 6. Epiſt. 41. tom. ii. Ep. *Reg. Poli.* † Epiſt. *Reginaldi Poli*, pars 1a. pag. 470.

THEIR impatience to have Him in their power was ſuch, that before this Meſſenger could arrive in *England*, *Cromwell* ſent a ſecond expreſs, with a letter from himſelf, and another, very prolix one, from *Tonſtal*, Biſhop of *Durham*. REGINALD, on the death of that unhappy Woman (ſo he ſtiles *Anne Bullen)* and the report of *Tonſtal* being taken into favour, having no reaſon to ſuſpect his ſteady adherence to the ancient religion, had wrote to him, not to be wanting to his King and Country, on ſo deciſive an occaſion. But the anſwer he now had from him, let him ſee, he had never been more deceived than in his opinion of this Prelate's attachment to tenets, which he then oppugned. Though he had not yet read the Work, which REGINALD ſent to the King, as appeared by his citing paſſages which were not alledged, and ſtarting difficulties already anſwered, he undertook to refute it: and concluded, with a flouriſh of oratory, on the high eſteem REGINALD was held in his Country; on the King's liberality to him, and on the ſentiments of his family and friends. Theſe remonſtrances, ſays he, made me bewail, with greater bitterneſs than before, my Country's misfortunes, and endeavour to convey to the King that truth, which ſo many meaſures contributed to extinguiſh.

CROMWELL, who was now created a Baron, made Privy-Seal, and Secretary of State, had made a very artful uſe of *Tonſtal*'s treatiſe, which he accompanied with a letter to REGINALD, to the following purpoſe. "The reaſon, my Lord, ſays he, of my writing again to you, ſo ſoon, is, that you might not be ignorant of the ſide which the Biſhop of *Durham* has taken, with reſpect to the King's ſupremacy; and may be induced yourſelf, to embrace an opinion, which will be ſo much to your advantage. You have always con-

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ſidered this Prelate as your friend, and as a perſon of ſingular judgment and learning, and your late letters to him ſignify the ſame favourable diſpoſition in his regard. This made me apprehenſive, that if on your arrival in *England*, which, I make no doubt, will be very ſoon, you found him in different ſentiments from thoſe, in which your letter ſuppoſes him, it might cauſe a ſhyneſs and ſurprize, which would give you uneaſineſs. To prevent this, I have forwarded, with the utmoſt expedition, what he has wrote to you on this ſubject, that you may know the real ſentiments of one who loves you entirely, but diſſents from you in a point, in which you diſagree with every one, who would be thought to wiſh well to his Prince or Country. After having ſaid this, it would be ſuperfluous to add any thing by way of perſuading you to conform to ſuch Unanimity, or to ſet before you the riſk you run in oppoſing it. For my own part, I cannot admit the leaſt ſuſpicion, but that whatever you have done in this affair has proceeded from the beſt of intentions; and if you can prevail on yourſelf to acquieſce in the general ſentiments of thoſe who love and honour you, I think, I may take on myſelf to anſwer for pardon and oblivion of all that is paſt. The King, my Lord, will receive you with open arms, and place you in a higher degree of favour than you have yet held *." This was the contents of *Cromwell*'s letter; but *though the Net be ever ſo fine, the Fowler ſpreads it in vain for a prey that has once eſcaped it.* (*Prov.* ch. i. ver. 17.)

HENRY, likewiſe, foreſeeing that REGINALD, notwithſtanding all his ſchemes to enſnare him, might not be prevailed on to put himſelf in his power, had let himſelf down to a ſort of bargain, and ordered *Tonſtal* to acquaint him, "that if it

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 1a. pag. 470.

did

did not ſuit his convenience to come to *England*, he would urge it no more; but that he inſiſted on his deſtroying what he had wrote; and, if he complied with this requeſt, he would not only exempt him from thoſe puniſhments which the laws of the Realm inflicted on all who refuſed to acknowledge his Supremacy; but allow him the enjoyment of his Eſtate in whatever Country he choſe to reſide: that the only condition he preſcribed, was to aboliſh whatever he had already wrote, and promiſe never more to write either againſt him or his edicts: and this engagement was to be ſent under his hand and ſeal *." So powerful was the impreſſion this Work made on the King and his Counſellors, and they deemed its ſuppreſſion of ſuch conſequence to the cauſe they were engaged in, as to leave nothing untried to get both the performance and the Author in their own diſpoſal. But, before I mention the anſwer he gave to the Secretary's and Biſhop *Tonſtal*'s letters, it may be proper to report the judgment which other leſs intereſted Readers have paſſed on the Work.

THE capital, and perhaps, the only material objection made to it, is a perſonal animoſity and ſpirit of revenge, which is ſaid to appear through the whole. The King's crimes are ſet forth in colours which naturally create averſion and horror; and the Author is accuſed, both in the facts he relates, and in his manner of relating them, frequently to forget that reſpect, from which no provocation, however atrocious, can exempt a Subject, when he treats with his Sovereign †.

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, ad *Eduardum* VI. *Angliæ* Regem, de opere adverſus *Henricum* Patrem ſcripto, cap. 25.

† This objection has been made, with great bitterneſs, by *Verger*, who having been Biſhop of *Capo d'Iſtria*, became 1554.
a *Lutheran*. He procured a copy of the work, ſome years after

This was the complaint in *England* as ſoon almoſt as the Work was ſent thither, and Biſhop *Tonſtal* declaimed againſt the Author on this head, from the Pulpit, at St. *Paul's*. REGINALD juſtified himſelf, by obſerving, that the King could be wrought on to enter into himſelf, but from the ſole dread of having his actions ſeen in their real light: that this was equally evident from the fruitleſs efforts of milder methods, which had hitherto been applied, and the conſciouſneſs of guilt and infamy, which the late Work had awakened in his mind: that if a diſintereſted zeal for his welfare had not prevailed on him to write with frankneſs and ſpirit, and even with an aſperity, which, though the occaſion required, was contrary to his own temper, the work had been overlooked, and no further notice taken of it. As to the particular charge of hatred of his Prince; the reluctance he always ſhewed to any one ſeeing the Work, but him, for whoſe warning he had wrote it, is all the juſtification he can ſtand in need of. *Priuli* and *Contareni*, the Reviſers, were the only perſons to whom he communicated it, before it was ſent to *England*; and he had given the latter his reaſons for the unwillingneſs

after it was wrote, and publiſhed it with the moſt virulent notes. His chief invectives have no other foundation than his own miſtake. REGINALD, in the third book, turns his diſcourſe from the King to the Emperor, and continues, through ſeveral pages, in this figure; and *Verger* repreſents this diverſion of ſpeech as a ſeparate Work ſent to *Charles* V. with a view to animate him againſt *Henry*.

The argument was taken up, about five and twenty years ago, though with much more decency, by *Schelhorn*, public Profeſſor at *Hamburgh*: to whoſe candour we are indebted for the long, elegant, and entertaining letter of REGINALD POLE to *Edward* VI. which had never been publiſhed (1 tom. Amœnit. Hiſt. Eccl. et Liter.)

Gardiner, *Tonſtal*, and *Sampſon* attacked the dogmatical part of the Work, and the two laſt, with *Stokeſley*, beſtowed abuſe, very liberally, on the Author.

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he teſtified of its being ſhewn to *Clement* VII. Being, afterwards, treated with great diſtinction by his Succeſſor *Paul* III. and lodged in the Palace, that Pontiff, notwithſtanding his repeated inſtances, had never been able to prevail on him to give him a ſight of it: and, three years after, on his return from an Embaſſy in *Spain*, finding it had been printed in his abſence, he got all the Copies into his own keeping. At length, the Work having been publiſhed in *Germany*, from a pirated Copy, with the moſt virulent notes, he conſented it ſhould be publiſhed, and appear in his own name: but this happened ſeveral years after *Henry*'s death; ſo little ſhare had hatred and 1555. revenge, paſſions with which REGINALD's breaſt was unacquainted, either in penning or publiſhing this performance.

SOME years after, he wrote a preface, which is imperfect, by which he addreſſes the Work to *James* V. King of *Scotland*. A Copy of it is preſerved among the *Vatican* Manuſcripts; but whether it was ever finiſhed, and ſent to the Prince with the work it was deſigned to accompany, does not appear. It begins by a very copious commendation of the Scottiſh King's and his People's ſteadineſs in the faith of their Anceſtors, notwithſtanding the defection of an allied and neighbouring Kingdom. The CARDINAL particularly extols a remarkable proof of the King's zeal in that cauſe; for having perceived by the title of ſome books, very richly ornamented, which the King of *England* had ſent a preſent to him, that they tended to recommend the meaſures he purſued, he threw them into the fire, in the preſence of him who brought them, ſaying, "it was better he ſhould deſtroy them, than they him."—He adds, that as the like attempts were ſtill carrying on, and it could not be expected that all his Subjects would act with the like

caution, he ſent him a Work he had wrote ſome years ago, that it might be publiſhed under his protection, and be a preſervative to all who did not ſhut their eyes to truth.—He, then, enters on *Cromwell's* conduct, much in the ſame manner as in his Apology to *Charles* V. but as the ſequel of the Preface is wanting, what more could be ſaid of it, muſt be furniſhed only from conjecture*.

THE Work *on the Church's Unity* is now become ſcarce; a fate which has attended many others, which have nothing to recommend them to trifling and unprofitable curioſity. But thoſe, whom paſſion or prejudice has not prevented from examining the weight of the arguments, and the gracefulneſs with which they are employed, have entertained the ſame opinion of the Performance, which the Author, notwithſtanding his modeſty, when he ſpeaks of himſelf, has expreſſed in the following words. "It has been my endeavour, ſays he, to aſcertain the primacy and indefectibility of the See of *Rome*, not only againſt all thoſe who have hitherto denied it, but againſt all future Oppoſers, who may be various and in great number †.

HE anſwered *Tonſtal's* letter, which he ſays was rather a Volume than an Epiſtle, by replying to

* Epiſt. *Reginaldi Poli*, pars 1a. 172.

† Epiſtola ad *Priolum*, 8°. Cal. *Oct.* 1535.

Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, this Work was more eſteemed for the high quality of the Author, than for ſound reaſoning. But the Biſhop is a bold Aſſertor, and what has been already ſaid refutes this peremptory deciſion.

Verger though he commented on it with all the acrimony of an Adverſary; yet, in his Preface, gives the following advantageous teſtimony of the Performance; *Scripſit Hic libros quatuor* de Unitate Eccleſiaſticâ; *in quos, quicquid unquam ab ullo ſcriptum pro Pontifice acute et callidè et ſubtiliter fuit, undique congeſſit, magnis eloquentiæ luminibus.*

each

each Article, in which he had attacked the Work; and " by telling him, it was to little purpofe for either of them to carry on a Controverfy, in which, like the Builders of *Babel*, they did not underftand each other: that, what he termed a proper obedience to the See of *Rome*, *Tonftal* called a flavifh fubjection: what one looked on as the re-eftablifhment of the purity of Religion, the other efteemed its fubverfion: and thofe whom *Tonftal* depreciated as Enemies to their King and Country, he efteemed their trueft and beft friends:" and then, addreffing his difcourfe both to the Bifhop and Lord *Cromwel*, " in this ftate of confufion, fays he, I am fenfible of the right my Country has to all the aid I can lend it: and tho' the King fhould be forfaken by all, who, either through hope or fear, combine to betray him, there will yet be One fuperior to the influence of fuch motives. As to the beneficial circumftances of life, with which my filence and paffive behaviour was to be purchafed, my contempt of them, in comparifon of my zeal for his Majefty, fhall be the return I make Him for my education; the difcharge of what my Country may claim of me; and, above all, of what I owe to my own Character, as a Chriftian*."

THE Courier, who was to return with thefe letters, was not yet fet out, when REGINALD received the Pope's orders to repair to *Rome*: wherefore, that he might maintain the fame ingenuous candour towards *Henry*, with which he had hitherto behaved, he informed him of the Pontiff's orders; and becaufe he knew they would be difpleafing, he fent him copies of the Pope's brief and his anfwer; to fatisfy him, that he had no fhare in this meafure: and difpatched the Exprefs, who had orders to return with the fame

* Epift. *R. Poli*, pars 1a. pag. 474.

ſpeed he came, that is, ſays REGINALD, by Relays on the road; the ordinary Poſt being of a later date.

per diſpoſitos equos.

THE Pope had already invited REGINALD to *Rome*; but as he had always declined going, he now laid his poſitive commands on him, and precluded every pretext of a refuſal, by communicating to him the buſineſs in which he wanted his aſſiſtance, though as yet he had no perſonal knowledge of him, and was chiefly acquainted with his character from the advantageous account, which *Contareni* had given him of it. He anſwered his Holineſs, therefore, "by commending his deſign of calling a general Council, and bringing to *Rome*, as a previous meaſure to it, perſons of known abilities to concert means of facilitating a happy iſſue to ſo neceſſary and arduous an undertaking.—Though he acknowledged himſelf unequal to ſuch a taſk, yet he had the event too much at heart, and bore him, from whom the orders came, too great reſpect, not to repair where he was commanded.—But I am ſurpriſed, ſays he, holy Father, how you came to find me out, as I have lived in a private ſtation, and thought of nothing leſs than being called out to public life. Had other reaſons for treating me with ſuch diſtinction been wanting, (which is by no means the caſe) yet, as you had formerly invited me to be near your perſon, and I had always found ſome excuſe to elude your gracious purpoſes in my regard, this behaviour alone might have cauſed you not only to lay aſide any further thought of giving me freſh marks of your favour, but even to refuſe, if I had ſued for them.—But a conſideration of another kind occurs to me on this occaſion, which is the diſpleaſure I foreſee this journey will give a Prince, to whom I have all the obligations which a Subject can ſtand charged with to his King, or a Child to a Parent.

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As he will imagine I am going to renew a cauſe, which ſeparated him from the Church, after having deſerved better of her than any other Sovereign, I cannot think of taking this journey without the utmoſt anguiſh. For though the proſpect his life now yields be ever ſo unpromiſing, yet when I call to mind his princely diſpoſitions, and the expectation he raiſed in his happier years; and reflect, that all human virtue, in whatever degree, may be blaſted by too great proſperity, I cannot ceaſe to hope, but thoſe early ſeeds of virtue will again rear their heads, and bud forth to his Glory, who is the Author of them *."—Were other proofs wanting, this alone verifies what *Manutius* ſays of REGINALD, " that his mind was pure from all ambition and malevolence, and that his countenance and diſcourſe were a perpetual index of the candour and uprightneſs of his intentions †".

ABOUT this time *Charles* V. was expected in *Italy*, to be crowned by the Pope; and as REGINALD POLE omitted no opportunity of being ſerviceable to the common cauſe of Chriſtianity, he uſed the moſt preſſing terms to *Priuli* to prevail on *Contareni*, who was then at *Rome*, and had great authority with the Emperor, to exert it on this occaſion; " and if I knew, ſays he, any ſtronger bond than the love of our Redeemer, which connects heaven and earth, I would conjure you by it. He adds, that he ſhould not write in this ſtile, if he had a leſs veneration for *Cantareni*, than he ſhould have for *Ambroſe*, was he then living; or was not perſuaded that his intereſt with the preſent Emperor was as great as that celebrated Prelate's had been

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, to. 1. pag. 467. Epiſt. ad *Paulum* III.
† Epiſt. ad *Saulium*, l. 1.

with

with *Theodosius* *"—But though there was a remarkable reſemblance between the Archbiſhop of *Milan*, and Cardinal *Contareni*, there was very little between the two Emperors, in whoſe reign they lived; and the narrow, ſelfiſh and tricking temper of *Charles* was as different from the openneſs, generoſity, and chriſtian ſpirit of *Theodoſius*; as the eloquence, mildneſs, and conſummate ſkill in buſineſs, joined to an invariable attachment to whatever was laudable, were ſimilar in him, who, from being Governour of *Gaul*, had been aſſumed to one of the chief Sees of Chriſtendom; and him, who, from the weightieſt concerns of the ſtate of *Venice*, was raiſed to the Purple.

REGINALD, in obedience to *Paul* the third's orders, was now ſet out from *Venice* in his way to *Rome*, when a Courier from *England* overtook him at *Verona*. The news of his journey had already reached the King's ears, and the Courier came furniſhed with every argument to diſconcert it: Lord *Cromwell* expreſſed himſelf by nothing but threats and invectives: *Tonſtal* renewed his objections to the papal authority; but the other letters, he ſays, were eloquent indeed, being from the Counteſs of *Saliſbury*, his Mother, and his Brother Lord *Montague*, in which they entreated him by all the ties of duty and affection to deſiſt from a ſtep which was ſo diſpleaſing to the King; and, if he perſiſted in it, they renounce all friendſhip and connection with him. The call of Nature is too powerful not to be heard by well-diſpoſed minds, however commendable the motives may be for not yielding to it: and REGINALD confeſſes theſe remonſtrances of perſons ſo dear to him, ſtaggered his reſolution, and made him think of giving up all thoughts of *Rome*,

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 1a. pag. 450.

not

not doubting but the Pope would admit of ſo plauſible an excuſe. His Companions on the road were the *Theatin* Cardinal, who was afterwards raiſed to the papacy by the name of *Paul* IV. *Matthew Giberti*, Biſhop of *Verona*, *Sadolet*, and ſome others, to whom he communicated the doubts and anxieties he laboured under. They all pleaded the importance of the commiſſion, on which the Pope was about to employ him; the great utility he might procure his Country in the execution of it; and the example, which was particularly expected from him, of deference to that Authority, which his writings had ſo well inforced. Theſe arguments determined him to purſue his journey. In conſequence of this reſolution, he wrote to Lord *Cromwell*, that he was not to be frightened into any compliance, which he could not juſtify to himſelf: he took the trouble to unravel all the intricacies of *Tonſtal's* labyrinth: And, by the moſt dutiful and affectionate letters to his Mother and his family, he endeavoured to ſatisfy them on the obligation he lay under, on this occaſion, to ſuperſede their entreaties. At *Bologna* he diſmiſſed the Courier, who, at leaving *England*, had been obliged to make oath, he would ſet out as ſoon as he had received his orders*.—It muſt give the higheſt idea of REGINALD POLE, to ſee the King and Miniſters of a powerful Nation entirely taken up with a private perſon, who had no means to annoy them, but his perſonal merit; and had received no other provocation, than the antipathy of good to bad.—Soon after the departure of the *Engliſh* Meſſenger, he ſent an Expreſs, from *Sienna*, to *Contareni*, by which he informs him of the abovementioned particulars, and tells him withal, " he is well aſſured, that as ſoon as his 8th *Oct.* 1536.

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 1a. pag. 470.

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Adverſaries perceive they could not gain him by perſuaſion, they will make no difficulty of attempting his life, at any rate: that, for his own part, it could not happen ſooner than he deſired, if the public good might be advanced by ſuch a ſacrifice *." The event verified the prediction.

REGINALD, on his arrival at *Rome*, was lodged in the Pope's Palace, who provided every thing for his ſafety and dignity. This Pontiff was of the *Farneſian* family, and ſucceeded *Clement* VII. He had ſummoned to *Rome* ſome perſons of great abilities in order to effect a reform of manners, the decay of which, in all ſtates, was but too viſible. Theſe Commiſſioners were nine in number, our Countryman included, five of whom accompanied him on his journey; with all which, except *Frigoſe*, Archbiſhop of *Salernum*, he had perſonal connections. *Contareni*, who had lately been honoured with the purple, was the Adviſer of this ſalutary ſcheme, and had the principal direction of it. He was of opinion that his Aſſociates ſhould ſet down ſeparately their ſentiments on each ſubject which was to be debated. But *Corteſius* deſired REGINALD to diſſuade him from this deſign: for though he was ſatisfied, that the candour of all who were concerned in the undertaking was ſuch, that they would judge of each other's performance with as great impartiality, and perhaps greater, than of their own; yet, he ſaid, he thought it their duty to abſtain from every thing, which, in its remoteſt tendency, might prejudice that perfect harmony which ſubſiſted between them: that if *Contareni* was deſirous of making an experiment of the abilities of his Collegues, it might be done with leſs riſk, by propoſing different ſubjects to each of them.

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 1a. pag. 483.

THOUGH

Though the Commissioners discharged their trust with a zeal answerable to their parts and probity, yet many and various difficulties occurred when that was to be reduced to practice, which, till then, had been the object of Theory only. The temper of the times seemed ill suited to the change which was projected, and though the distempered manners of the Christian world called aloud for a remedy, yet there was no favourable Crisis in which it could be applied with a prospect of success. *Nicholas* of *Schomberg*, surnamed the Cardinal of *Capua**, to whom the Plan, by the Pope's orders, had been privately communicated, seems to have given the decisive negative against its being published. He represented to his Holiness, that the reformation of Christianity was an affair of such high importance, that it should be undertaken and recommended by the concurrent authority of all the national Churches of which that body is composed, rather than by the papal authority alone: and he advised a delay, till it could be referred to a general Council †.

Reginald was not yet in holy orders; he had not, as has been observed elsewhere, received even the Clerical tonsure, by which those are initiated, who design themselves for the Clergy; and he only belonged to that profession by the benefices he enjoyed, and a life which would have done honour

* He was a *Dominican*, and on account of his rare merit, had been raised to the purple by *Leo* X. amongst the few works he left, one is a discourse on the death of Sir *Thomas More*.

† *Pallavicini*, Hist. Con. *Trid.* lib. 4. c. 5.

The plan of reformation was printed at *Rome*, by *Bladi*, in 1538, and inserted, by *Grabbius*, into the collection of Councils; though omitted, as *Possevin* complains, in the latter one of *Surius*. Perhaps, as it wanted the sanction of public authority, he might not think it proper to give it a place in that Work.

to

to any degree in it. He was now in the thirty-ſixth year of his age, and the youngeſt of all the Aſſociates in the late undertaking: and tho' they were men of the firſt character for learning and probity, yet he was the directing mind that guided the whole; and alone drew up the Plan of Reformation, the ſubſtance of which had been the joint labours of them all: and when it was printed ſome years after, it appeared in his name, without any mention of his Collegues.

Life of *Hen.* VIII. p. 426. *Sleid.* Com. l. 12.

LORD *Herbert* ſpeaks with great commendation of this performance, and refers his Readers to a Work, where it may be found. He obſerves, that the Plan here laid down gave occaſion to rectify ſeveral abuſes in the Church; and that religious Controverſies, in general, though they produce great Evils, have one good effect, that they make men more careful, leſt perſonal faults ſhould redound to the diſcredit of the Religion they profeſs; and are a caution for virtue and good example. This he ſays with an alluſion to the new Doctrines which were then broached in *Germany* and elſewhere; and which the noble Author ſuppoſes to have awakened in the Catholic Church, an attention to the manners of her own Communion, particularly of the Clergy and the Court of *Rome*.

BUT though the Pope had laid aſide any further thoughts of this affair, he gave a great inſtance of zeal and prudence in what was likely to have an immediate influence on the morals of the Clergy, where a change was loudly called for, and where it was but fitting it ſhould begin. He was ſenſible the Sacred College ſhould be compoſed of perſons whoſe examples might recall the ancient ſplendour of the Prieſthood; and, being about to fill the vacant places, amongſt other perſons of diſtinguiſhed

ſtinguiſhed merit, he thought no one would add more luſtre to the Purple than our Countrymen.

THE Pope's intention was univerſally applauded, and by none more than *Contareni*, who had the chief place in his confidence, and by the Embaſſador and Creatures of *Charles* V. though from views as different, as the character of this Cardinal and that of the Emperor. The approbation of the former proceeded from real value and love of the perſon, to whom the honour was intended, and a proſpect of the advantage that would accrue to the public: the others gave out indeed, that this promotion would give the affairs of *England* a more favourable turn, and might bring them to a happy iſſue. But *Beccatelli*, REGINALD's Secretary, has aſſigned a reaſon more ſuited to the genius of Courts, and, therefore more probable; that, by this means, an opinion would be removed, which ſeveral perſons were poſſeſſed of, that the Princeſs *Mary*, *Henry*'s daughter, might, one time or other, chuſe REGINALD for her Huſband, from the ſingular affection both ſhe, and the late Queen her Mother had borne him from his infancy.

REGINALD was the only perſon who oppoſed his promotion: he ſignified to the Pope, with his uſual freedom, that nothing could be ſo ill timed as ſuch a ſtep: that it would make him forfeit all his intereſt in *England*, where he muſt appear a Partiſan of the Pope, and of the Court of *Rome*; and would endanger the lives and fortunes of all that belonged to him: he, therefore, entreated his Holineſs to defer, to a more ſeaſonable occaſion, this mark of his goodneſs, which, whenever it was conferred, would be equally honourable. The Pope ſeemed ſatisfied with his reaſons; and "I, ſays *Beccatelli*, was witneſs to the real joy this declaration gave him." The following day the Pope came to the Conſiſtory, and, whether he had been

been prevailed on by the Imperialiſts, or of his own motion, he changed his mind, and ordered the Chamberlain in waiting, to go to REGINALD, with orders for him to receive immediately the Clerical tonſure, and accept the Purple. "I was alſo preſent, ſays the ſame *Beccatelli*, when this meſſage came, and as it was quite unlooked for, inſtead of rejoicing, it abaſhed and afflicted him; but as the command was peremptory, and required preſent compliance, he ſubmitted to the dignity, rather than accepted it."

SECT.

SECT. III.

His Embaſſies and Employments in Public Life.

THE dignity of CARDINAL, like all other diſtinctions amongſt Mankind, has worn various appearances ſince its firſt inſtitution. The appellation was transferred from the State to the Church; and amongſt the Officers of the Emperor *Theodoſius*, there is mention made of Generals and Governors of Provinces, who are ſtiled *Cardinals*, becauſe they filled the moſt illuſtrious and important charges of the Empire. The name was derived from the Latin language, and denotes a certain analogy to a hinge, on which the Door moves, and a mutual Cardo. connection and fitneſs of the office and the perſon who is to diſcharge it. Saint *Gregory*, the Great, being informed that the Church of *Aleria* in *Corſica* was vacated, wrote to *Leo*, a Biſhop of that Iſland, to adminiſter the Dioceſe till he had provided it with a Paſtor, who was to be the *Cardinal* Biſhop of it: and, writing to the Clergy, Nobility, and Commons of *Naples*, he approves of their deſire to have *Paul*, Biſhop of *Neſſi*, who was the Admiminiſtrator of their Dioceſe, for their *Cardinal* Biſhop. From theſe and other paſſages in this Pope's letters, it appears, that, in his time, every Biſhop, who, by his ordination, is attached to a particular Church, was reputed the *Cardinal* of it. The ſame is to be ſaid of Prieſts and Deacons, with regard to their reſpective titles and benefices. For the oppoſite reaſon, Defenſores. thoſe whom the Popes appointed Patrons in foreign Provinces, or their Reſidents at *Conſtantinople*, and Embaſſadors at other Courts, though Apocriſiarii.

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they were Deacons of the Church of *Rome*, were not *Cardinals.* This appellation, when given to the inferior Clergy, though it principally denoted the Parochial Priefts, who are fixed to a determinate Parifh, and adminifter the Sacraments; belonged likewife to fuch as performed the divine fervice in the Palaces of the Great, becaufe they alfo derived a title from thefe Chapels and Oratories, and bore a relation to them. In this manner, there were *Cardinal* Bifhops, Priefts, and Deacons, throughout all the Diocefes of the Chriftian world; and the Pope, in quality of Bifhop of the particular See of *Rome*, was likewife deemed its *Cardinal.* The *Cardinal* Priefts of *Rome*, confifted of the Parochial Clergy of the fame City, or of thofe who ferved fome determinate place of public worfhip. The *Cardinal* Deacons, and even the under or Subdeacons had alfo a local Title, by virtue of which they exercifed their functions. Nor was this the ftate of the Church of *Rome* in St. *Gregory*'s time only, but almoft 400 years after it.

THE fame regulations were common to other Churches. I fhall inftance this obfervation with refpect to thofe of *France.* The Council of *Metz* Can. 54. ordains, that Bifhops fhould regulate, according to the Canons, the *Cardinal* Titles which were appropriated to different Churches: and *Tibald*, Bifhop of *Soiffons*, when he ratified the foundation of the Abbey of St. *John*, made by *Hugh*, Lord of *Chateau-Thierry*, referves to himfelf and his Succeffors the jurifdiction, as it had been anciently exerted, over the *Cardinal* Prieft of the place, which was one of the twelve Parifhes of *Soiffons* and the Neighbourhood: and this Foundation is confirmed, under the fame reftriction, by *Philip* I. in the year 1076. The ancient Ritual of the Church of *Troyes*, in *Champaign*,

fhews

ſhews that the Biſhop of that See had thirteen *Cardinal* Prieſts, whoſe Pariſhes are there ſet down, to aſſiſt him, on *Maundy Thurſday*, at the conſecration of the holy Oils, and at the ſolemn benediction of the Baptiſmal fonts, on the eves of *Eaſter* and *Pentecoſt*. And, as a farther exemplification of this Diſcipline, there have always been in the Abbey of St. *Remigius*, at *Rheims*, four Monks with the title of *Cardinals*, becauſe, on ſolemn days, they officiated at the high Altar.

THE *Cardinal* Prieſts and Deacons of *Rome* were, at firſt, chiefly diſtinguiſhed by the great part they had in all affairs which were brought before the Pope, whom they likewiſe attended in the public Ceremonies of Religion; and, on that account, are ſaid, by *Leo* IV. to belong particularly to him. The Biſhops of *Rome* were generally choſen out of their order, and ſeldom from the Epiſcopal, as it has ſince been the practice: and *Formoſus* even ordered the bones of his Predeceſſor to be taken up, and repealed all his Decrees, becauſe, contrary to the Canons, being Biſhop of *Oſtia*, he had been raiſed to the Papacy. As the Popes were choſen from the *Cardinal* Clergy of *Rome*, this body had likewiſe the principal ſhare in theſe elections; and, at length, were alone inveſted with the authority of giving a ſupreme Head to the Church. This was eſtabliſhed in a Council of *Rome*, under *Nicholas* III. in the year 1059.

Preſbyteri ſui ordinis.

THE eminence of the See of *Rome* gave her *Hierarchy* a beauty and ſplendour, which by gradual advances, effaced every thing elſe. This Capital of the Chriſtian world, which, from the Seat of Empire, was become the Centre of Religion, contained within her precincts five Churches, which were all conſidered as ſo many

Cathedrals of the Pope, as he is the Patriarch of the Weſt. Theſe were St. *Peter*'s, in the *Vatican*, St. *Mary Major*'s, St. *Paul*'s, St. *Lawrence*'s, and St. *John Lateran's*; and to each of the four firſt, ſeven *Cardinal* Prieſts were attributed, who derived their titles from the moſt ancient Parochial Churches of *Rome*; and are enumerated by
ad annum 1057. *Barônius*, from a Ritual preſerved in the *Vatican* Library. But the Church of St. *John*, being by way of excellence the Pope's Cathedral, had the ſix neighbouring Biſhops of *Oſtia*, *Porto*, *Albano*, *Freſcati*, *Sabina*, and *Paleſtrina*, who are always *Cardinals*, and have no other title but that of their reſpective Dioceſes, annexed to her. The Biſhoprick of *Sylva candida*, which formerly was a diſtinct Dioceſe and Title, is now united to that of *Porto*. Theſe Prelates were Suffragans to the Weſtern Patriarch, and, on account of their proximity and attendance on him, were ſtiled his *Collaterals*, and *Hebdomadaries*. Each of them had his week to aſſiſt him in the divine ſervice, or to perform it in his ſtead, which occaſioned ſhort abſences from their own Sees.

The Popes, in latter ages, have thought fit to communicate the dignity of *Cardinal* of the Church of *Rome*, to other Biſhops beſides the ſix abovementioned. *Conrad*, Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, is ſaid to have been the firſt who received this honour from *Alexander* II. which was likewiſe conferred, by the ſame Pontiff, on *Sala* of *Milan*, in 1165. The cuſtom was afterwards introduced of creating foreign Biſhops *Cardinals*, by the ſtile and title of the ancient Parochial or other Churches of *Rome*: by which means thoſe who were Biſhops and Primates in their reſpective Provinces, were, in quality of *Cardinals*, conſidered only according to the rank of their creation. Thus *William*, Archbiſhop of *Rheims*, was created *Car-*

Cardinal of St. *Sabina*, which is a Prieſtly title only, by *Clement* III. and his Succeſſors have retained the ſame uſage, and made it cuſtomary.

THE ancient number of the Deacons of *Rome*, was ſeven: they were, afterwards, increaſed to fourteen; and, then, to eighteen. They were called *Cardinal* Deacons, to diſtinguiſh them from others, who had no ſuch title, by virtue of which they officiated. At preſent, there are only fourteen, to whom the dignity of *Cardinal* is annexed. Theſe with the fifty *Cardinal* Prieſts, and ſix Biſhops, make up the ſacred College, which number it never exceeds. For Mankind being prone to ſet a value on things, on account of their being rare, and removed from obvious attainment, it has been the wiſe polity of the Court of *Rome*, to obſerve this caution in favour of this illuſtrious Body, and to caſt round it all thoſe decencies which raiſe and ſecure reſpect. The ſame reſerve as to the number of the Knights Companions, no leſs than priority of inſtitution, has made the Order of the Sovereign of *Great Britain*, more honourable than thoſe of all other Princes in *Europe*, which have been communicated with leſs frugality, whereas this has been confined to its original Few.

THE great acceſſion of temporal power to the See of *Rome*, and the extent of her ſpiritual juriſdiction, which ſtill became more wide as the Goſpel ſpread itſelf over the whole Earth, ſhewed the expediency of a change in ſome points of her primitive Diſcipline. A great and perpetual Council, conſiſting of various Departments, became neceſſary for the proper diſpatch of ſuch a multiplicity of affairs; and it was thought proper it ſhould be compoſed of ſuch of the Roman Clergy, who, by not having any neceſſary local connections, might be free to give their time and atten-

tion to the general concerns of the Church. *Cardinal* Priests and Deacons, therefore, were no longer looked upon as Residentiaries of the Churches, whose title they bore; and as *Cardinal* Bishops became the Pope's *Suffragans*. The two first Orders were chosen from all ranks of the Clergy throughout Christendom, and the ancient Titles of the Churches of *Rome* conferred on the persons thus chosen, without any obligation of Residence; though the third Order, which is made up of Bishops, is subject to it. On this establishment REGINALD POLE was first created *Cardinal* of the Church of the Saints *Nereus* and *Achilleus*, who were put to death in the persecution of *Trajan*; and was afterwards promoted to that of St. *Mary* in *Cosmedin*. The first is an ancient title, in which St. *Gregory* the Great pronounced his 28th homily on the Gospels; and since our Countryman possessed it, has been the Title of the Historian *Baronius*, who rebuilt the Church.

THIS Senate of the Universal Church being composed of Members of different nations, who are distinguished either by birth, or their eminent personal qualifications, its authority, at all times, has been very great, and it has been considered as the common Council of the Christian World. The appellation of Pope, which for five or six hundred years had been given to all Bishops, though with a subordination to those of *Rome*, began to be appropriated to them alone: and the title of *Cardinal*, which had been born by all Priests and Deacons, with respect to those Churches, into which, as so many *Grooves*, to use St. *Gregory*'s expression, they were let in and rivetted, became the peculiar denomination of those of *Rome*; and they hold the highest rank in the Catholic Church. The greatest Potentates esteem it an honour to have their Brothers and Sons enrolled amongst

Incardinati; the term is used by *Vitruvius*.

them:

them: they have frequently guided the Councils of the different ſtates of *Europe* with great commendation of wiſdom and ability; and have been employed with ſucceſs in the moſt arduous and important negotiations: and, which is a reflection ſtill more honourable to themſelves, and of greater edification to others, Chriſtianity has had in them ſome of her moſt able and learned Defenders, and moſt zealous and regular Prelates. All the Catholic Kingdoms and States of *Europe* are in that kind of relation to the ſacred College, which Clients bear to their Patrons; and each of them chuſes one of its Members as a Protector. And whoever has ſeen the whole Body aſſiſt the Pope on ſolemn occaſions, muſt have been ſtruck with the ſame ſentiment with the Foreigner, who, on beholding the majeſty of the *Roman* Senate, ſaid, he had ſeen *a Synod of Kings.*

THEIR very dreſs, on ſolemn occaſions, became by degrees, expreſſive of their dignity, and of what thoſe engaged themſelves to, who were inveſted with it. *Innocent* IV. in a Council held at *Lyons*, in 1242, diſtinguiſhed it by the Scarlet Hat; and *Paul* II. in 1462, extended that colour to their other garments; though, at ſome ſeaſons of the Eccleſiaſtical year, they wear violet or pale red. The flowing eaſe and ſhape of the upper Robes is equally graceful and majeſtic; and the Scarlet colour, which is uſually worn, was intended to remind them, that their ſteadineſs in ſupporting the cauſe of the Goſpel, and following His example, whoſe Vicegerent they repreſent, ſhould be proof to all difficulties, though at the riſk of ſhedding their blood *.

* What has been here ſaid, is chiefly taken from *Bellarmine*, Controv. to. 2d. b. 1. ch. 16. *Maimbourg*'s *Hiſtoire du Pontificat de Saint Gregoire:* and from the treatiſe, *de l' Origin de Cardinaux.*

THIS brief account of the origin and inſtitution of *Cardinals* appeared a neceſſary introduction to the following part of his hiſtory, who is, henceforward, to be conſidered in that Character; and to enable the Reader to judge, through a various and intricate ſeries of tranſactions, of the fitneſs and propriety of his behaviour, by firſt unravelling the principles on which it proceeded. The object of Hiſtory being no leſs to convey inſtruction than to record facts, as the ſtation in which a chief Actor is placed gives a peculiar mode to his manners and conduct, ſomething was to be ſaid of the firſt, that theſe may be ſeen in their real light. It may likewiſe contribute to remove thoſe prejudices, which the cauſeleſs ſpleen of a mere *Engliſh* Reader is apt to conceive at the very name of *Cardinal*, and may prevail on him to turn his mind from ſounds to things.

THAT REGINALD POLE conſidered the Purple with a propriety of thought becoming what has been ſaid of it, will appear from the ſlighteſt knowledge of his character. The prior part of his life, though paſſed without any view to this dignity, ſeems all deſigned by Providence, as a preparation to thoſe trials, by which he was to fill up the meaſure of the duties of it: and that theſe were his ſentiments, after he was raiſed to it, his whole ſubſequent conduct is a proof beyond reply. We cannot, indeed, have a more unexceptionable voucher of his diſpoſitions than himſelf; nor could they be expreſſed with greater energy than in his own words, in a letter to the Pope, where, after giving him an account of the price which the King of *England* had ſet on his head, he delivers himſelf in the following manner. "Who, therefore, can ſecure me from ſuch a Foe? the ſame Almighty Being, who now affords me great tranquillity, and exempts me from all fear

fear of what men can do: who commands me to acquit myſelf of the obligations which the character I bear brings along with it, and to leave every thing elſe to his Providence. No one ever found this truſt to be vain, and his protection has always ſcreened thoſe, who place their confidence in him, from every kind of harm. Now my duty as a *Cardinal*, as member of the ſacred College, is not only not to ſhun danger, when my Saviour's honour and his cauſe calls me to it, but to offer myſelf to all hazards, though at the peril of my own ſafety and life. This is the Inheritance we have received from thoſe illuſtrious *Cardinals* of the Church, the *Apoſtles* whoſe ſucceſſors we glory to be; and who were fearleſs, though the power of the whole earth was armed againſt them, for maintaining that cauſe in which we are engaged. I had a lively impreſſion of all this before I was received into the Order; and the ſame divine hand, which then imparted the ſentiment, has ſince retraced it in every faculty of my ſoul, and, when I ſet out from *Rome*, placed all theſe difficulties before my ſight. If, at preſent, he thinks fit to exerciſe me in them, what have I to fear? ought I not rather to rejoice, that having the ſame cauſe in common with thoſe great men, I may hope to have the ſame Protector, and be entitled to the ſame reward *."

THE new CARDINAL was complimented by letters from ſeveral perſons of diſtinguiſhed rank and merit. Every one conſidered this promotion as an honour to the Pontificate in which it happened, and to the ſacred College, into which he was adopted. It was, moreover, looked upon as an earneſt of that Reformation, which was loudly called for on all ſides; the neceſſity of which was but too viſible from the errors which every where

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 1a. pag. 55.

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ſprung up, from the decay of diſcipline in the Clergy, and the corruption in the manners of Chriſtians in general. *Paul* III. who then filled St. *Peter*'s chair, was a Prince of the *Farneſian* family, and, beſides other inſtances of his regard for the public good, had ſhewed a caution and ſagacity in the choice he made of thoſe, who were to compoſe the ſupreme Council of the Church, worthy the chief Magiſtracy he bore in it. Their names alone are a proof how well they deſerved this dignity; and three of them were ſucceſſively raiſed to the Popedom. The famous Satyriſt *Aretini* acknowledges this diſcernment and care to have been the deſerved commendation of this reign. It has, indeed, been objected to this part of *Paul*'s character, that he conferred the purple on ſome of his own family, at an age which ſeems immature for that dignity: but if the care he took to have them inſtructed in every thing which became their Princely extraction, and the juſt hopes he had conceived from the elevation of their genius, be taken into the account, his behaviour, in this particular, will either not appear unbecoming the other parts of his conduct, or muſt be placed amongſt thoſe weakneſſes which have too great a mixture of humanity, not to admit of great alleviation. The abilities which *Alexander Farneſe* diſplayed very early in ſolemn embaſſies, ſoon juſtified the opinion the Pope had of him: and his own ſenſe and love of merit appeared, to great advantage, in the veneration, in which he always held our Countryman; and the manner in which, at this Pope's demiſe, he exerted himſelf to have him choſen in his place. The friendſhip and zeal of the latter for a perſon ſo nearly related to his Benefactor, appears in the advice which, on ſeveral important occaſions, he gave this young Prince, with a dignity and good will to which his

his riper years and experience gave both a ſanction and weight.

AMONGST other letters wrote to REGINALD on his late promotion, twelve have come down to us; two of which have an air of elegance and good ſenſe in ſo unuſual a degree, on ſuch a ſubject, that the Reader cannot but be entertained with them. The firſt is from the *Doge* of *Venice*, *Andrew Gritti*, and was delivered to the CARDINAL, at *Rome*, by the Embaſſador of that State, on the part of the Republic, and is as follows. "Nothing, ſays the *Doge*, could have given the Republic and myſelf greater ſatisfaction than the news we received, a few days ago, of your advancement to the Purple. You cannot doubt of our ſincere joy on this occaſion, as it is nothing more than the reſult of that eſteem and affection we have ever borne you. At the ſame time, it affords us ample matter of applauding the goodneſs and wiſdom of the Pope, in making ſuch a choice. To the many and great inſtances of paternal regard which he had already given the Chriſtian World, he has added this of making you a member of the ſacred College, and aſſociating to you Perſons like yourſelf, that is, recommended by every ornament which learning and ſanctity of manners can beſtow: and has teſtified his own ſenſe of merit by the illuſtrious marks, with which he diſtinguiſhed yours. On this title alone, had others been wanting, he muſt have been deemed to have deſerved well of Chriſtianity. He could not have given a more authentic teſtimony to your virtues, than by placing them in ſo fair a light; nor to others a more complete pattern of a cultivated mind, and an irreproachable life, than by propoſing you as an Example of both. Our congratulation, therefore, muſt needs be grounded on the beſt of motives, as the

the ſubject of it is the great and perſonal merit, which makes you equal to the dignity you are inveſted with, and enables you to exert it in the common cauſe of Mankind. Our earneſt wiſhes are, that the ſame all-good and all-powerful Being, from whom this honour, and the qualifications which entitle you to it, are originally derived, may continue to proſper and augment the bleſſings he has already conferred. But as the kind and advantageous ſentiments we feel in your regard, cannot be brought within the compaſs of a letter, we have ordered our Embaſſador to enlarge himſelf on what is here ſaid, and declare more fully the Republic's and my diſpoſitions in your regard *."

THE other letter is from one, who, by force of genius, raiſed himſelf from a low condition to the higheſt conſideration in the learned world; and had been ſo much diſtinguiſhed by our Countryman, during his ſtay at *Padua*, as to be admitted into his family. This extraordinary perſonage was *Bonamico*, of whom mention has been already made, the Son of a Clown of *Baſſano*. He begins by obſerving, " that he is doubtful whether he ought chiefly to congratulate the CARDINAL or Religion itſelf, on his promotion; but that there was ample matter for both. He was now placed on an eminence, from which the influence of his virtues might be felt by all, and point out to them the charms and dignity of unaffected Piety; at the ſame time, that Religion had an earneſt that, hereafter, merit and not the gifts of fortune, as it had hitherto ſeemed, would be the path to honour. That, although the ſame deference had been paid, ſome time before, to the ſingular excellence of *Contareni*, yet the Pontiff's diſpoſitions were not

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 1a. pag. 2.

ſufficient-

ſufficiently atteſted, as his views in that promotion were variouſly interpreted: but now, as his conſtancy in referring every thing to the welfare of Chriſtianity was ſo well ſupported, every one conceived the juſteſt hopes of ſeeing the dignity, to which he was raiſed, become more auguſt and venerable.—That, if this method had been formerly purſued, the ſacred College would have always preſerved the authority it once enjoyed.—Many things, ſays he, might be added on this head, as arguments that REGINALD's promotion was the choice of God himſelf, who had placed him as a Watchman of the common weal, and enlightened him to conſider the public welfare as the moſt inviolable of all truſts, and which ought to be dearer to us than we are to ourſelves.—The generous ardour of his ſoul made ſuch remonſtrances needleſs: he had already ſhewed an heroic reſolution in ſubmitting to the ſevereſt trials, and ſeeing his family ſhare thoſe diſgraces which perſecuted him: but Providence ſeemed to preſerve his life, that he might aſſert the rights of injured Religion, and, by his ſingular erudition, his copious and manly eloquence, and a life worthy the beſt and happieſt ages, reſtore her ancient ſplendour.—He wanted, therefore, no foreign encouragement to perform what the goodneſs of his own diſpoſitions and the views of heaven prompted him to: yet, though his prudence was no ways inferior to his other qualifications, the importance of ſuch a life, and the many conſiderations which were intereſted in its preſervation, made it neceſſary that he ſhould guard it, with greater caution, againſt the iniquity of his Enemies, and reſerve himſelf for the good of Mankind. That this was the only change deſired in his conduct, as the other

parts

parts of it were ſuch, that they could not be changed for the better*."

Besides the letters already mentioned, there is a particular paſſage in a third, which the Cardinal received on the ſame occaſion, which affords an opening to ſay ſomething of *Eraſmus*, 12th *July*, 1536. who is mentioned with diſtinction in it, and who died a few months before the time I am ſpeaking of. The letter is from *Staniſlaus Hoſius*, and, amongſt other inſtances of the Writer's good ſenſe, and the high eſteem he had for the perſon, in whoſe promotion he took ſo ſincere a part, he tells him, "that one of the chief topicks of congratulation, was his being aſſociated to perſons of ſuch merit as *Sadolet* and *Contareni*; and that he could not have failed of having the late Biſhop of *Rocheſter* and *Eraſmus* his fellows in the ſame dignity, were they ſtill living †." This was not the firſt indication *Hoſius* had given of his ſenſe of *Eraſmus*'s merit. Having finiſhed his ſtudies, and being to leave *Padua*, he was deſirous to take *Bâle* in his way to *Poland*, on no other motives than to converſe with ſo celebrated a perſonage. As he, afterwards, became a more competent Judge of his character and writings, he ſeems to have laid aſide the prepoſſeſſions of his earlier years; for, ſpeaking to the Reformers, "he deſires them to give ear to one, who had been long converſant with them, and was thought, by ſeveral, not very averſe to their tenets, inſomuch that it was become a kind of proverb, *either Eraſmus is a Lutheran, or Luther a Diſciple of*

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, p. 10 ep. 8.

† Etſi quid potiſſimum tibi gratuler, neſcio; an quòd cum *Sadoletis* et *Contarenis* cooptatus es, *Roffenſes* quoque et *Eraſmos* Collegas habiturus, niſi crudelis mors hunc illis honorem invidiſſet. *Ibid.* pag. 17. ep. 12.

Eraſ-

*Erasmus**." *Hosius*, of whom I am speaking, had been honoured with our Countryman's familiarity at the University of *Padua*, and encouraged by him to pursue the path of true glory, which he had already entered, and distinguished himself in it, by his parts, probity, and literary improvements†. They, ever after, retained a singular regard for each other, as their correspondence and mutual inclination to oblige, which was carried through life, abundantly testify. The connections of this excellent person with the CARDINAL, and the high esteem in which he has always been held, both by Protestants and Catholics, make it proper to give the following account of him, before I come to that celebrated name, *Erasmus*.

HE was a native of *Cracovia*, and having been educated with great care in his Father's house, was sent to *Padua*, where, as has been said, he became acquainted with REGINALD POLE; and, amongst other advantages, had *Bonamico* for Professor, and took his Degrees in the Civil Law. On his return to his Country, he was appointed Secretary to the King, and, afterwards, employed in the Chancery. His inclinations leading him to holy orders, he was, first, Canon of *Cracovia*, and, then, Bishop of *Culmes*, and sent Embassador

* Audi quid scribat de vobis, qui versatus fuit multis annis inter vos, nec valde nonnullis visus est alienus à doctrinâ vestrâ, ita ut quasi vulgò diceretur, aut *Erasmus Lutherizat*, aut *Lutherus Erasmizat*. Contra Psuedo-Evang.

† Has Litteras tibi dedi, ex quibus velim tibi persuadeas, me, ut indoli tuæ ad omnem pietatem, virtutem atque doctrinam florescenti, cùm *Petavii* adolescens litteris operam dares, favebam; sic nunc postquam à tuis edoctus sum præclaros fructus easdem Virtutes edere, non potuisse non maximè gaudenti animo audire. Epist. *R. Poli*, pars 2a. pag. 18.

by

by *Sigismond* to *Julius* III. and to the Emperor. Being advanced to the See of *Wormia*, *Pius* IV. who was no ſtranger to his merit, made uſe of him to the Emperor *Ferdinand*, and the King of *Bohemia*, to obtain their concurrence for the continuation of the Council of *Trent*. The firſt of theſe Princes, after ſome diſcourſe on the ſubject, embraced him, and ſaid, " he could refuſe nothing to a perſon, whoſe breaſt was the Temple, and tongue the Organ of the holy Spirit." The Cardinal's cap being ſent to him at *Vienna*, he would have declined that honour, had not the Pope, by a poſitive command, over-ruled his modeſty; and, at the ſame time, appointed him, with the Cardinal of *Mantua* and *Scripando*, to open again the General Council, which had been interrupted for ſome years. He acquitted himſelf ſo well of this commiſſion, that, at the concluſion of the Council, the Pope acknowledged his ſervices by a very obliging letter. He then retired to his Biſhoprick in *Poland*, and finiſhed thoſe excellent works, which have gained the Author almoſt an equal reputation with all Parties, and been tranſlated into various languages, ſome of which went through thirty editions in his life time. The Catholics have ſtiled him a Pillar of the Church, and the *Auguſtin* of his times; and thoſe of a different perſuaſion have honoured him with Encomiums ſtill more pompous. He was called again to *Rome*, by *Gregory* XIII. in 1572, which was the 76th year of his age, and made grand *Penitentiary*. He died ſoon after, and may be placed on a parallel with the great *Oſius* of *Corduba*, who preſided at the firſt General Council of *Nice*, in every thing, but his fall*.

ERASMUS,

* *Reſcius*, the Writer of *Hoſius*'s life, from whom this account is taken, had been his Secretary, and was ſent by him

ERASMUS, as has been ſaid, died about the time I am ſpeaking of, and the ſingular ſentiments of good will and eſteem which he teſtifies, in his letters, to REGINALD POLE, make ſomething more than a bare mention of him, ſuitable to the ſubject of this Work. I ſhall conſider him as a *Genius* and a Man of *letters*, and as one who profeſſed the tenets of the *Catholic Church*; this being the light in which his connections with our Countryman place him, and in which his Character, in other reſpects not conſpicuous enough for public obſervation, has been generally viewed. It will appear from hence, whether that great name has been injured by the Prieſthood, and if they have brought any ſhame on themſelves, by refuſing to look on him as the glory of their profeſſion.

IF we conſider him as a Genius and a Scholar, Envy itſelf muſt own he holds a rank which very few have ever attained. Born of mean parentage, and in a Climate as little famed for ripening minds as improving morals, his native vigour raiſed him above theſe diſadvantages: and the unhappineſs of a ſordid education, by which the knavery of his Guardians, after having reduced him to great ſtreights with reſpect to fortune, ſought to depreſs his growing parts, only ſerved to make him exert them with greater ſuperiority. Though he came into the world in an age, when Learning, in all its denominations, was revived in

him to compliment the Duke of *Anjou* on his election to the crown of *Poland*. *Bathori*, who was, afterwards, raiſed to that dignity, appointed him Embaſſador to the Court of *Rome*. *Sigiſmond*, another King of that nation, employed him on ſeveral occaſions, in which he acquitted himſelf with great credit. Beſides the life of his Patron, he has left ſome other treatiſes, and a volume of Letters, which have made him known, with advantage to the learned world.

thoſe ſouthern Climes, which *Greece* had enriched with all her ſtores, he wanted the favourable circumſtance of paſſing any part of his youth amongſt ſuch as were ſo capable of forming him to juſtneſs and elegance both of thought, ſentiment, and expreſſion. But theſe Checks were compenſated by a beautiful and rich imagination, an exquiſite diſcernment, and a happy memory. His induſtry could not be ſurpaſſed but by the eaſe with which the moſt various and difficult attainments became almoſt as familiar to him, as thoſe notions which open on the mind, at the firſt drawn of reaſon; and in which, Dean *Swift*, among the Moderns, ſeems to be his only Rival. The reſult of theſe qualifications was an incredible inſight into ſacred and profane Antiquity, a critical judgment, a complete knowledge of the learned languages, and a happineſs of expreſſing himſelf in the *Latin*, which few have equalled. His long and entertaining *Dialogue on the Ciceronian Stile*, and his other Dialogues; his Letters, which are very numerous, and take in a moſt unuſual variety of matter, are proofs of the readineſs of his parts. The editions of the Fathers, with the fine Prefaces and Dedications prefixed to ſome of them, ſhew his extenſive reading; and in moſt of theſe works the knowledge of men and manners keeps pace with his ſkill in books. But, what a polite and diſcerning age will, with gratitude, ever acknowledge, he greatly contributed to bring into diſcredit that barbarous gibberiſh, thoſe trifling and unmeaning diſcuſſions, and that dark and pedantic drudgery, which, for ſo many Centuries, had diſgraced the Schools, and debaſed the minds and underſtanding of thoſe who frequented them. He introduced Studies of a real and poſitive nature, ſuited to uſe and improvement, and which have a tendency to raiſe, poliſh, and better

Man-

Mankind. There are infinite Excellences ſcattered thro' the moſt exceptionable of his Writings, and the Reader is every where ſtruck with the fruitfulneſs of his genius, and the rapidity of his pen. Theſe are Commendations to which *Eraſmus* has the juſteſt claim; and if the other view of this extraordinary perſonage, in which the Chriſtian is concerned, no leſs than the Scholar, was equally luminous, the beſt of Cauſes would never have had an abler or more ſeaſonable Advocate, or a greater Ornament. Whether this be the Caſe, or not, the Reader, if he happens to be unprovided of a more correct Criteron, may judge from the following.

There has ſcarce been any Error advanced againſt the Religion which he profeſſed, and, I might almoſt add, againſt Chriſtianity itſelf, which he has not revived; or any Tenet in that divine plan of belief and practice, which he has not oppugned either by profane ſneers or ſophiſtry. That this licentiouſneſs might ſtill wear the face of reaſon, he has made uſe of the moſt unfair means which impoſture could ſuggeſt; and vitiated, denied, or ſtrained to a falſe conſtruction thoſe documents, by which the doctrines he attacks, are ſupported. Had *Eraſmus* barely rejected the invocation of Saints as not grounded on ſcripture; and aſſerted that nothing is to be received but what is delivered there, he would have done no more than many others who diſſent from the Catholic Church: But the manner in which he has treated the devotion paid to the Mother of our Redeemer, and the indignity with which he ſpeaks of Her, who was *bleſſed among Women*, are flights of impiety too outrageous to be offered even to the cenſure of a Chriſtian Reader; and muſt give no leſs offence to all ſenſible and judicious Proteſtants than to

Catholics*. The ſix reaſons which he aſſigns againſt the cuſtom of having recourſe to her interceſſion, at the beginning of ſermons, are all weak, and moſt of them falſe and profane †. In conſequence of theſe Principles, he informs one of his acquaintance, " that though he had wrote ſome things to the honour of the Bleſſed Virgin, it was againſt his will; that his heart had no ſhare in a compoſition, which was undertaken to pleaſe his friend *Baſſus*, and a woman of quality ‡."

Coleto, p. 351. inter *Eras.* ep. ad *Bas.*

He

* Colloq. Peregrin. Rel. ergò.

Annot. in Luc. c. 1. The moſt ſhameful part of this commentary, no longer appears in the place cited; but it may be ſeen in *Eraſmus*'s anſwer to *Ed. Lee*, and in *Sutor* the *Carthuſian*. *Salmeron* and *Poſſevin* make mention of it; the firſt p. 274, de *Mariâ*; the other, p. 1098. *de præpa. ad mortem.*

† Eccleſiaſtes.

‡ Reliqua omnia penè alieno ſcripſi ſtomacho, præſertim Pæana & obſecrationem, quod laboris datum eſt animo Baſſi mei, & affectibus *Annæ* Principis Verianæ. A Panegyrico ſic abhorrebam, ut non meminerim quicquam fuiſſe me magis reluctante ſcriptum animo.

Interea ſervandus animus, ne vel ira, vel odio, vel gloriâ corrumpatur, nam hæc in medio pietatis ſtudio ſolet inſidiari. *Hæc non admoneo ut facias*, *ſed ut quod facis perpetuò facias.* Deguſtavi Commentarios tuos in Pſalmos: vehementer arrident & ſpero magnam utilitatem allaturos. Eſt *Antuerpiæ* Prior ejus Monaſterii, vir purè Chriſtianus, qui te unicè deamat, tuus olim Diſcipulus, ut prædicat. Is omnium penè ſolus Chriſtum prædicat. Cæteri ferè aut hominum fabulas aut ſuum quæſtum. Dominus Ieſus tibi ſuum ſpiritum indies uberius impertiat ad ſuam gloriam & publicam utilitatem.

Theſe Commentaries of *Luther* on the Pſalms, with which *Eraſmus* is ſo taken, and which he hopes will be ſo uſeful to the Public, contain the following doctrines, among others equally orthodox and *edifying*. That the righteouſneſs of good works is an impiety: that the Church is a gulph of God's wrath; *Rome*, the Seat of Satan and of *Antichriſt*; the co-operation of free will, a falſehood and a folly; the Ceremonies of the Church, a deſtruction of God's Commandments;

He aſſerts the Church to be no where viſible, and was about to compoſe the Epitaph of JESUS CHRIST, as one who was no more, ſince *Luther*'s breaſt alone contained a few ſparks of the Goſpel. There are no commendations which he does not beſtow on *Luther*'s writings and innovations, in which he encourages him to perſiſt. *Coleto*, p. 244. inter *Eras.* ep. ad *Bas.* The privileges which he aſcribes to the marriage ſtate in preference to celibacy, are ſet forth with ſuch indecency, that a *Cynic* could not have other ideas, nor cloath them in coarſer terms. Though a Prieſt and advanced in years, he relates his Gallantries in *England*, in a ſtyle more becoming the ſtews than the Monaſtery, in which, with the other obligations of that ſtate, he had vowed Chaſtity. *Fauſto*, ib. p. 222. When he ſpeaks of auricular Confeſſion, every aſſertion is an error; and in a treatiſe of it, in two parts, having enumerated the advantages in the firſt, he refutes, in the ſecond, all he had advanced, and concludes it to be a ſnare to true piety; for which he has aſſigned a reaſon, which ſhall not foul this page. He diſapproves of the diſtinction of food, the obſervance of Lent, and other appointed faſts, and of the ſingle life of the Clergy. There is no ſort of diſparagement with which he has not loaded the Monaſtic Profeſſion; he vilifies their perſons, their habit, obſervances and vows by every indignity which malice can prompt, or ſcurrility utter. The *Fathers* meet with no better reception. The *Evangeliſts* themſelves are accuſed of inaccuracy and want of good faith, when they alledge the teſtimony of the *Prophets*: and, by this Critic's

mandments; good works heinous ſins; the private ſpirit of each of the faithful, the true rule of faith; *John Hus*, a Martyr to truth, and, therefore, put to death; Theology, an impiety; private Maſſes, a mockery; and the propoſitions he maintained at *Leipſic*, ſo many Catholic Verities.

good will, one Canonical book ought to receive a more authentic acknowledgment of divine inſpiration than another. I omit what he ſays againſt the freedom of our will, and numberleſs other Articles, in all which he diſſents from the ſpirit of the Catholic Church, from the principles of her appoved Writers, and betrays a mind totally warped from her rule of rectitude.

Coleto, p. 243. inter *Eras.* ep. ad *Bas.*

THIS affinity of ſentiments produced the conſideration, which *Luther*, in his turn, had for *Eraſmus:* he tells him, "he read his works with the greateſt application, and found his chief delight in them." The Proteſtants are agreed with the Catholicks, on their reſemblance, and give *Eraſmus* a title, which they eſteem glorious, of having been the Forerunner of the Reformation. "It was his writings, ſays a celebrated Author of that party, which encouraged *Luther*, and determined him to attack the Church; and in laughing at the Pope, at Confeſſion and Ceremonies, he did no more than *Eraſmus* had done twenty years before *." He himſelf acknowledges, "that the ſtorm which *Lutheraniſm* had raiſed, was imputed to him." His volatile temper, together with ſome ſelfiſh conſiderations, not allowing him to adhere ſteadily to either ſide, a *Lutheran* Writer expoſed his inconſiſtencies in a work addreſſed to the Public †: and *Eraſmus*, in his Apology, appears almoſt as zealous a Defender of *Luther*'s tenets, as he who broached them ‡. At the ſame time he behaved with equal inſincerity to the Catholics; and thus his Apologies, inſtead of exculpating, only ſet his unſteadineſs in a more unfavourable view.

Wolſius.

* *Zwingl.* in art. 20. *Friccius*, de Repub. *Wolſius*, to. 2. p. 146, 147.

† Aſpergines *Huteni.*

‡ Apolog. Senatui *Argentin.*

BUT

But Impiety took a ſtill bolder flight, when he endeavoured to weaken or elude all the proofs which the Scripture furniſhes of the Divinity of Jesus Christ. This muſt appear, at firſt ſight, from his manner of explaining away the force of thoſe paſſages where it is aſſerted. The *Arrians*, therefore, of thoſe times, looked on him as their Chief; and *Socinus*, as one belonging to his Sect. The Miniſters of *Hungary*, in their Memorial to their King *John*, tell him, that *Eraſmus* was the Forerunner of their Prophet *Servetus*; and the *Arrians* of *Poland* and *Tranſilvania* replied to the Catholic Miſſioners, that they had received their opinions concerning the Trinity, and the ſecond divine Perſon, from no other ſource than the writings of *Eraſmus* *.

After having employed his parts and learning againſt Religion; Ridicule was the only remaining weapon, with which he could attack her; and this he has done with an impiety, which, till then, had been unheard of. Every Article of Chriſtianity, thoſe Perſons who have moſt honoured it by their lives, the ſacred Mother of its Author, the divine Author himſelf, are ſet up, by this ſecond *Lucian*, as objects of laughter and raillery, and expoſed to the ſcorn of Witlings and Unbelievers †: and, for this reaſon, no works were ever more calculated to corrupt morals, to inſpire irreligion, and furniſh her, if not with arguments, at leaſt with cavils againſt all that is good and venerable.

I cannot diſmiſs this ſubject, though perhaps already too much lengthened out, without ob-

* Memoires d'*Hongrie*. Provo. des nouv. Arri. à *Eraſme*. *F. Soc*. Ep. ad Fr. *David*. *Poſſev*. in Appar.

† Col. Pereg. Relig. ergò. Encomium Moriæ, ſive Laus Stultitiæ.

ſerving, that the motley and ambiguous Principles of a late celebrated genius, which cauſed him to addreſs the moſt daring Infidel of the age, as *his Guide*, and *Philoſopher*, ſhould likewiſe have given him the ſame advantageous ſentiments of *Eraſmus*. Through this *Ægyptian* darkneſs, he, who was *to Virtue only and her friends a friend*, could deſcry *the good and injured man*, *the honeſt mean*, *the glory* of that *Order* of men, to whom he belonged, and the *great Saint*: and has threatened thoſe, who modeſtly blamed ſome of his own unjuſtifiable expreſſions, to revenge himſelf on them, by writing the Panegyric of their avowed enemy, in a language which was to extend farther than that of the *Eſſay on Criticiſm* *. Could there be any doubt concerning the principles of ſuch a turn of mind, it is cleared up by the *Eſſay on Man*, which ſhews the Poet's Theology to have been congenial with that of his *Philoſopher Bolingbroke*, and his Saint *Eraſmus*. The harmony, indeed, of his numbers, charms away that offence, which the licentious phraſe of the other two provokes; yet ſtill the drift of the work, and the deſign of the Artiſt, ſeem to have been the ſame through all three.

Mr. *Pope* of himſelf.

BUT to go back to the CARDINAL, whoſe late promotion, and the congratulations he received on it, gave occaſion to this digreſſion; in the anſwer which he returned to the *Doge*'s letter, amongſt other grateful and patriot ſentiments, he tells him, "that though he had received ſeveral congratulations from perſons, on whoſe judgment and affection he could rely, yet as the voice of his Country, for whoſe ſake alone he had accepted that dignity, had been wanting, the others had

* Eſſay on Criticiſm, by Mr. *Pope*. Letter 2d. to the Hon. *J. C.* Eſq;

been

been accompanied with a kind of ſadneſs, which embittered every other ſatisfaction *." He dwells with complacency on the ſtay he made in the ſtate of *Venice*, which he ſpeaks of as a ſecond Country, where he had ſpent almoſt the greater and better part of his life, with thoſe advantages, which he could have met with no where elſe, and leaſt of all at home. He obſerves, that the Education he received at *Padua*, which he repreſents as the Seat of whatever is uſeful and ornamental, was the true foundation of a happy and valuable life, and that to have made even a moderate proficiency in that School, was preferable to all other attainments. That, beſides theſe benefits, which were open to every body, he had perſonal obligations to the Republic, having experienced great humanity from her excellent Citizens, who had given him the leaſt equivocal marks of good will, and equalled whatever he could have looked for, from his neareſt Relations. He ends, with aſſuring the *Doge* and Senate, they have a right to expect from him the zeal and attachment of a native of the State, which he ſhould always teſtify by every thing in which their honour was concerned.

But though his Country, as he ſays, took no ſhare in his new dignity, he had not been long inveſted with it, when the ſituation of affairs in that Kingdom ſeemed to offer him an opportunity of exerting himſelf in her behalf. That the Cardinal's behaviour in this nice tranſaction may appear in its true light, it will be neceſſary

* Quia illa una Vox Patriæ aberat, cujus certè causâ, ſi cujus rei in terris causâ, hunc ſive honorem, ſive onus, ut veriùs appellem, ſuſcepi, neſcio quo pacto quaſcunque lætitiæ voces audiebam, eas non ſine aliquo doloris ſenſu excipiebam. Ep. *R. Poli*, pars 2a. p. 3.

to

to lay before the Reader a ſhort ſketch of the ſtate of *England*, at this juncture. *Henry* had no ſooner aſſumed the ſupremacy of the Church, but he thought of making it as lucrative as he could; and appointed a Vicar in his ſpiritual capacity, every way ſuited to ſuch a Principal and ſuch purpoſes. This Miniſter, *Thomas Cromwell*, had taken care, as we have ſeen above, to inform the King of his talents for deſtruction; and being irreſtrained by any principle, human or divine, and the brutal ſavageneſs of his mind equal to his vile extraction, he was alike qualified to plan and execute his Prince's worſt deſigns. Though pride and cruelty were the maſter paſſions in *Henry*'s breaſt, they did not, as *Aaron*'s ſerpent, ſwallow up the reſt. Like all Tyrants of his magnitude, he was, by turns, actuated by others no leſs pernicious to his ſubjects; and, amongſt theſe, Voluptuouſneſs held the firſt place. It had been confirmed by a long habit of indulging every appetite, and even preventing thoſe Calls, by which Nature is prepared for the reliſh of pleaſure. This had produced a profuſion and rapaciouſneſs of every kind, and in the higheſt degree, of theſe oppoſite Vices, and fully expreſſed that character which *Salluſt* gives of another ſcourge of Mankind *. One of the firſt Acts, therefore, of his ſpiritual power, was to ſuppreſs all Religious Houſes, of both ſexes, whoſe yearly Income was under 300 Marks, or two hundred pounds, and ſeize the Revenues for his own uſe; and his Vicar *Cromwell* appointed Doctor *Lee*, a perſon of the utmoſt profligacy, chief Viſitor both of the manners and property of ſuch places.

* Peſſima atque inter ſe diverſa mala, Luxuria atque Avaritia.

Ac-

Accuſations were received on the bare credit of ſuch as were choſen to anſwer the end of the inſpection; and the moſt unfair and ſhameful methods made uſe of to traduce thoſe, whoſe cauſe could not be good under ſo corrupt a Government: and no Apology or remonſtrance was allowed in favour of the Oppreſſed. We are not, therefore, to wonder, that in the Preamble to the Act, by which theſe Houſes were diſſolved, the motive is brought from their decay of diſcipline, and looſe manners. The Religious under the age of four and twenty were compelled to leave their Monaſteries: the reſt were left at their own diſcretion, either to ſtay or depart; but thoſe who remained were mured up, and not permitted to go out of their houſes. The ejected Monks were allowed a Clerical gown and forty ſhillings; and the Nuns obliged to exchange their dreſs to that of ſecular Women, and went where they thought fit. The Number of theſe Houſes was about 370, the Revenues of which amounted to above 30,000 *l.* all which was granted by the Parliament to the King and his Heirs. The Viſitors ſeized alſo the Goods and Chattels of *theſe ancient Monuments of devotion*, as Lord *Herbert* calls them, which, at a low valuation, amounted to 100,000 *l.* a ſum equivalent to five times as much in theſe days; and, adding ſacrilege to rapine, they plundered the Sanctuary of the ſacred Veſtments, of the Shrines, Jewels, and other ornaments, alledging they were all for the King's uſe. This plunder of what the general opinion and principles of Mankind have ſanctified, has cauſed the Hiſtorians of the Church of *England*, to record theſe facts with every aggravating circumſtance that attended them; and their candour has paſſed the ſame cenſure on them, as the

Writers

Writers of their communion who were the Sufferers *.

THE People were Spectators of theſe innovations, and of the manner in which they were carried on: and the character of the chief Promoters was before their eyes; and it was but too viſible from the King's life and converſation, what were his real motives in theſe proceedings. They had been witneſſes of the general regularity which prevailed in theſe Retreats from the World, and of the unfair methods uſed to miſrepreſent them. They beheld 10,000 perſons, according to Lord *Herbert's* computation, of both ſexes, who after having taken up a courſe of life, eſtabliſhed and ſecured to them by all laws, human and divine, were turned out of their habitations, and wandering about, without any proviſion made for their ſubſiſtence, whilſt the Commiſſioners rioted in the profit of theſe Confiſcations †. Theſe motives alone were ſufficient to rouze their indignation againſt this diſſolution; but there were others, in which they thought themſelves little leſs concerned than the principal ſufferers. There had been great hoſpitality kept up in theſe places, and, beſides the daily alms diſtributed to the neceſſitous, above 10,000 perſons, Maſters and Servants, were, by this ſuppreſſion, deprived of a livelihood. Conſiderations of a higher order contributed to make theſe proceedings more odious. Moſt of theſe foundations had been made or endowed by our Nobility and Gentry, and the Churches belonging to them were the Repoſitaries of the Aſhes and Monuments of their Anceſtors, where ſtated offices of Religion were daily performed for the

* *Stowe*, *Fuller*, Ch. Hiſt. p. 312. *Collier*, vol. 2. b. 2. p. 155. and b. 3. p. 180.

† Life of *Henry* VIII. p. 377.

repoſe

repoſe of their Benefactors, and the welfare of their Poſterity, and of the whole Nation. But what cauſed a ſtill greater uneaſineſs, was the apprehenſion of a total ſubverſion of the ancient Worſhip, on which it was viſible that ſeveral about the King were wholly intent. They had the example of the Barons, who appeared in the field againſt King *John* and *Henry* III. for the redreſs of wrongs leſs deſtructive than thoſe then complained of. The Biſhops and mitred Abbots, of whom twenty had a ſeat in Parliament, had gone into all the Court meaſures, from a fear of what might befall themſelves, if they oppoſed them; and though they made ſome faint efforts againſt the ſecularizing the Abbey Lands, and for founding Schools, Hoſpitals, and Colleges, as ſuch like purpoſes had a certain affinity with their original deſtination, and which they took to be the meaning of the Act, by which they were diſcorporated; yet they had neither intereſt nor courage to purſue a Scheme, though confirmed by the Royal promiſe, and therefore dropped that, and all farther attempt which might endanger their own Temporalities. As to the leading men of the Laity, Lord *Herbert* obſerves, that the ſhare they had in the ſpoils, cauſed them to abet the means by which they were obtained. But the Bulk of the People, who were lookers on, and not biaſſed by lucrative reſpects, conceived themſelves injured in many eſſential branches of their rights and property, and lamented, without diſguiſe, the injuſtice done to ſo many innocent perſons, and the wrongs they ſuſtained themſelves. The Vicar-General, to whoſe councils theſe Acts of violence were chiefly imputed, became the object of univerſal hatred, and their diſcourſes concerning him were as free as their inward reſentments. After having, for ſome time, confined the ſenſe of their

injuries

injuries to words and ſentiments, they broke out, at length, into overt Acts of hoſtility, and roſe up in arms, in different parts of the Kingdom. In this view our civil and church Hiſtorians have conſidered the attempt I am going to ſpeak of, and reaſoned on it, on theſe principles; with a deſign, it ſeems, to obviate whatever may be objected to the lawfulneſs of the method of redreſs, by thoſe who are inattentive to the provocation.

Oct. 1536. THE firſt inſurrection was in *Lincolnſhire.* The grievances chiefly complained of, were the ſuppreſſion of the Monaſteries, the adminiſtration of affairs being entruſted to perſons of baſe origin, by which *Cromwell*, who was a Blackſmith's ſon, was perſonally noted; and a juſt apprehenſion, that the Pariſh Churches would be plundered, as thoſe of the Religious houſes had been; and the King was beſought to refer theſe cauſes of uneaſineſs to the Nobles of the Realm. The Inſurgents were about 20,000; but having no Leader of reputation, and being come together in a tumultuous manner, the danger with which the Court was threatened from ſuch an undiſciplined mob, was not conſiderable: and on the Duke of *Suffolk*'s approach, and the King's proclamation, with private aſſurances of pardon, they returned to their former obedience. About the ſame time, there was a riſing in the North more numerous and formidable, being made up of men inured to arms, and in the neighbourhood of a nation, at that time, very averſe to the late innovations in Religious matters, of which it was feared they would, at this juncture, avail themſelves. Their attack on the Government was much more regular, and they were led on by *Robert Aſk*, a Gentleman remarkable for his talents of managing the Populace. The cauſes aſſigned for their having re-

courſe to arms, were much the ſame as had been urged by thoſe who had juſt laid them down; the duty they owed their Maker, their zeal for the King's perſon and iſſue; the neceſſity of removing vile and ignoble perſons from the Council; of compelling Apoſtate Monks to return to their Convents, and replacing thoſe who were ejected; of reinſtating the Church in her Rights, and ſuppreſſing errors. They all took an oath that theſe were their only inducements of entering into this Aſſociation, which was called by the quaint name of *the Pilgrimage of Grace.* The badges they wore on their garments, the emblems interwoven in their banners, and the repreſentation of their dying Redeemer, carried in their front, were all expreſſive of theſe profeſſions. Forty thouſand perſons, chiefly from the Counties of *York*, *Durham*, *Lancaſter*, and *Cumberland*, among whom were ſeveral of rank and family, reſorted to their ſtandard. They ſeized on *Hull* and *York*; and though the Archbiſhop, Dr. *Lee*, and Lord *Darcy*, threw themſelves into *Pomfret* Caſtle, in order to defend it, the reſiſtance they made was ſhort; and, alledging neceſſity for what they did, they joined the Victors, whoſe cauſe they were ſuſpected to favour, and bound them themſelves by the Aſſociation oath. The firſt ſtep which the King took on this occaſion was ſuited to the uſual and known violence of his temper. In order to frighten the Monks from applying to this formidable body, and returning to their ancient poſſeſſions, he ordered the Abbots of *Salley*, *Whalley*, *Norton*, and *Hexam*, to be dragged out of their Monaſteries, and executed by martial law *. The Duke of *Norfolk* was appointed to march againſt the Inſurgents, and his forces being much

* *Collier*, vol. 2. pag. 132.

inferior,

inferior, he had recourſe to ſtratagem. Being encamped at *Doncaſter*, a violent rain ſwelled the river, from which the town takes its name, and diſappointed the enemy's deſign of paſſing it, in order to attack him. The Duke improved this incident to his advantage, and ſent a Herald with propoſals of accommodation, and orders to lay down their arms. The General, *Aſk*, as the Abettor of the civil and religious Rights of the People, received him, ſitting in a chair of ſtate, between the Archbiſhop of *York*, and Lord *Darcy*, and a conference being agreed on, the Duke was met at *Doncaſter* by ſeveral of the Nobility, who were in *Aſk*'s army, and a very numerous Retinue. They were offered a general pardon, ſix only excepted by name out of their number, and four more reſerved to the King's pleaſure. This propoſal being rejected, the Duke went with the utmoſt ſpeed to *Windſor*, where the King then reſided, and returned with equal expedition, and full power to ſign an unlimited pardon, beſides ſeveral grants in favour of the Church's immunities; on which, they diſbanded, and retired to their reſpective homes. Before the ſeparation, they bound themſelves by the moſt ſolemn engagements to return to their Standard, if the King failed to comply with his promiſe, and redreſs their wrongs: and *Henry*, on his part, thinking the danger over, firſt delayed, and then refuſed to ratify what fear alone had extorted, and his bad faith made him look on as a temporary expedient, which was no longer to be regarded, when the end was gained. *Aſk*'s troops were no ſooner appriſed of this treachery, but they repaired again to their General; and the Duke, who had already experienced the ſucceſs of negotiation, entered on it, a ſecond time: but the demands of the adverſe

The Lords *Scroop*, *Latimer*, *Lumley*, *Darcy* and *Huſſey*.

party

party were now riſen ſo high, that, rather than comply with them, he choſe to decide the event by the ſword. The Enemy's reſolution and ſpirit were not abated by their late diſperſion, and they had now no hopes but in themſelves. The River *Dun* was, as before, between them and the Royal army, and they reſolved to paſs it on the morrow, in order to give battle; when a ſecond inundation rendered the river again impaſſable. This repeated diſappointment ſtruck them with a kind of panick, and, their proviſions failing, they began to break up and diſperſe. The Duke favoured this diſpoſition, by a promiſe of a ſecond general amneſty, which the King ratified, and they returned home.

But though thoſe tumults were quelled, the State was too convulſed to ſettle ſoon into tranquillity, and a third inſurrection followed cloſe on the former. *Muſgrave* and *Tilby*, at the head of 8,000 men, laid Siege to *Carliſle*; but, being repulſed, they were intercepted in their retreat, by the Duke, who ſtill remained in thoſe parts, and all their Officers, except *Muſgrave*, to the number of ſeventy, taken priſoners and put to death. The ſame uneaſineſs under the preſent innovations cauſed great numbers of Malecontents to declare themſelves in other parts of the nation. Sir *Francis Bigot* endeavoured to ſurprize *Hull*, but without ſucceſs; and by the vigilance of the Duke of *Norfolk*, this, and ſeveral other attempts to redreſs preſent grievances, and prevent ſtill greater which hung over the nation, proved ineffectual. *Henry*'s choler, which the leaſt oppoſition ſet in a flame, was, by theſe frequent provocations, become too violent to be reſtrained even by his own moſt ſolemn engagements; and making uſe of theſe late inſurrections

as a pretext not to adhere to the pardon granted to *Aſk* and his Confederates, he involved the innocent and guilty in one promiſcuous ruin, and ordered the Duke to ſpread the Royal banner, and execute martial law wherever he thought fit. A like ſeverity was extended to great numbers of high rank and quality in different parts of the Kingdom*, till *Henry*, at length, ſated with blood, publiſhed a new Act of grace, to which,
p. 248. Lord *Herbert* ſays, he adhered. Our Hiſtorians vary in the order of theſe tranſactions, and ſome other circumſtances, but are unanimous as to the cauſe of the inſurrection, the motives on which thoſe who were engaged in it, juſtified their proceedings, the King's want of good faith in fulfilling the promiſes made to *Aſk*'s army, on their diſbanding, and the blood ſpilt in conſequence of that failure.

I SHALL conclude this Article with taking notice of a remarkable fatality, which attended the General, by whoſe conduct, in great meaſure, the crown, which ſeemed to totter, had been ſettled on the Tyrant's head. This nobleman was the moſt powerful of all thoſe who favoured the ancient Religion, and though thoroughly perſuaded of her faith and worſhip, had come into all the meaſures which were taken to deſtroy both. Lord *Darcy*, before his execution, had charged him with giving ſecret countenance to the Inſurgents, whom he was ſent to reduce: but this accuſation had either been diſcredited or over-

* *Robert Aſk*, the Lords *Darcy* and *Huſſey*, Sir *Robert Conſtable*, Lady *Bulmer*, Sir *Thomas Piercy*, Sir *Francis Bigot*, Sir *Stephen Hambleton*, Sir *John Bulmer*, *George Lumley*, *Nicholas Tempeſt*, *William Thurſt*, Abbot of *Fountains*, *Adam Sudbury*, Abbot of *Gervaux*, the Abbot of *Rivers*, *William Wold*, Prior of *Bridlington*; and ſeveral others of lower rank.

looked;

looked; and the other ſuccours, by which the Duke ſought to make up the breaches which were daily made in Religion, had been managed with ſuch caution as to eſcape the King's notice, or not incur his diſpleaſure. Yet, notwithſtanding all his paſt ſervices, he was, ten years after the period I am ſpeaking of, ſent to the Tower 12th *Dec.* on ſuch ſhadows of miſdemeanor, as ſaying the 1546. King could not hold out long, and that it was to be feared, the religious diſſentions would be fatal to the Nation after his death. During his confinement he pleaded his innocence, and the merits of a long life ſpent in the ſervice of the Crown, in a very pathetic letter to the King: but that having no effect, he ſhewed the ſame want of reſolution, which he had formerly too often betrayed, when the civil and religious Rights of his Country were at ſtake; and, complying with *Henry*'s temper, had recourſe to ſubmiſſion, and the acknowledgment of offences, of which he was not conſcious; but all to no purpoſe. Both Houſes of Parliament, as the moſt expeditious inſtrument of the King's Tyranny, were ſummoned, not to try, but condemn the Priſoner, and a bill of At- 14th *Jan.* tainder being found againſt him by the Peers, 1547. without examination of Evidence or trial of the Criminal, it was ſent to the Commons, with a meſſage from the King, whoſe health declined very faſt, to diſpatch it with all ſpeed. Orders were accordingly iſſued for the execution on the 29th of *January*, but the King's death, which happened on the foregoing night, prevented his reign from being ſtained with this additional act of blood; and this Nobleman, having continued Priſoner during *Edward*'s life, was, on *Mary*'s acceſſion, reſtored to his liberty, but only ſurvived the recovery of it a year.

His Son, the gallant, polite, and learned Earl of *Surrey*, on accuſations no leſs trifling, had been ſent to the Tower on the ſame day with his Father; and, notwithſtanding his manly and eloquent defence, was put to death by a ſentence equally unjuſt and tyrannical. His crimes were, that one of his Domeſtics, whilſt he was in *Italy*, had paid a viſit to CARDINAL POLE, and that the Earl was *ſuſpected* of holding a correſpondence with him. Neither Parliaments nor Juries, in this reign, gave attention to any thing but the King's will: when that was clear, all other proofs were out of the queſtion.

BUT, to return to the tumults I was ſpeaking of, they plainly indicated the uneaſineſs which ſat on the minds of the people in general, under the late innovations, and were looked upon as fore-runners of a national revolution in favour of the ancient Doctrine. The Pope, beſides a zeal for reuniting ſo fair a portion to the Catholic Church, and the obligation which his ſupreme office laid him under to endeavour it, had ſeveral particular reaſons to keep no further meaſures with *Henry* than duty and neceſſity obliged him to. That Prince had not only renounced an obedience to the See of *Rome*, which, with all other Chriſtian Princes, he had hitherto acknowledged, and ſupported in an excellent work againſt *Martin Luther*; but had, moreover, compelled his Subjects, and endeavoured by every art and ſollicitation, to draw the Kings of *France* and *Scotland* into the ſame defection. Theſe reaſons induced *Paul* III. to ſend CARDINAL POLE, with the quality of Legate, into the Low Countries, that being in the neighbourhood of *England*, he might, with greater certainty be informed of the diſpoſitions of the nation; exert that influence which

which his Royal defcent, and the great authority he ftill had, gave him; and, if the fituation of affairs was fuch as to make his going over to that Kingdom advifable, the journey was left to his difcretion. He undertook this commiffion at the earneft inftance of the Emperor's Embaffadors at *Rome* and at the Britifh Court, the latter of whom communicated his advice by letter. Whatever had any relation to the commiffion, the road he was to take, the progrefs of the whole journey was concerted by their council and exhortation, and almoft by their compulfion. The Count of *Siplonti*, and the Doctor *Ortis*, who had pleaded Queen *Catharine*'s caufe, conftrained him, againft his own judgment, to take the way of *France*. They were the firft, fays the CARDINAL, to extol the Bifhop of *Verona*, who had left every thing that was dear to him, that he might accompany me, and fhare whatever I was to undertake or fuffer in the caufe. The French Embaffadors declared, not to him alone, but to the Pope, on the part of their Mafter, when the fubject of his Embaffy, and his journey to the French Court was treated of, that his prefence would be highly agreeable to the King: and though, fays he, there were not wanting perfons, who, notwithftanding thefe fair appearances, foretold me what I have fince experienced, yet, on my teftifying fome diftruft, they replied with emotion, that I did an injury to their Sovereign, if I had any diffidence in the offer he made me, fince a Legate from the holy See, whofoever he was, muft at all times, and on all occafions, be welcome to the moft Chriftian King*. The conclufion in fine was, that he fhould take the road

* Epift. *R. Poli*, pars 2a. pag. 34.

of *France*, and, if he could not paſs over into *England*, he was to remain in *Flanders* and watch every opportunity of promoting the affair he was ſent on. But, becauſe the purpoſe of his Legation extended beyond what concerned his Country, and he was to treat of a Peace between the Emperor and the French King, and of holding a general Council, he was to negotiate this latter affair with the different Princes, through whoſe dominions he paſſed; and, if the ſituation of things in *England* made his journey to the French Court inconvenient, the Biſhop of *Verona* was to go thither to treat of a Peace and the Council, and then join him *. He was charged with Credentials from the Pope, to ſeveral Potentates, which ſet forth his commiſſion, and the Pontiff's deſign in conferring it.

THE firſt was addreſſed to the Engliſh Nation, and declared the ſatisfaction his Holineſs had received from the late proof they had given, that their revolt from a faith and obedience, by which they had till then diſtinguiſhed themſelves, had been conſtrained and forced on them. They are required to pay the LEGATE that deference, to which their duty to God, the reſpect they owed the holy See, and the LEGATE's high birth, excellent endowments, and ſingular probity intitled him: to aſſiſt him in the execution of the Pope's orders, which had been dictated by piety, and were directed to the glory of God, and their welfare.

THE ſecond Letter was to the King of *Scotland*, *James* V. who was exhorted to ſupport the LEGATE, by favouring the diſpoſition which the Engliſh had ſhewn to return to the faith of their

* Epiſt. *R. Poli,* pars 2a. pag. 42.

Anceſtors.

Anceſtors. The Pope informs him, that the LEGATE was to go to the French Court, in order to prevail on the Moſt Chriſtian King, whoſe Daughter *James* had married, to recommend to him the ſafety of that People, and to engage him to a Peace with his Imperial Majeſty, that a general Council might be held, errors repreſſed, the Church reformed, the *Turk*, who threatened *Italy* with an invaſion, be repulſed, and many other Articles be agreed on, in which the common cauſe of Chriſtianity was concerned. That, in all theſe concerns, and eſpecially that in which the neighbouring Nation was intereſted, next to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, he laid his chief ſtreſs on him, of whoſe piety he was aſſured, and who had broken off all commerce with thoſe who were fallen from what they owed to duty and truth. On this account he had ordered the LEGATE to communicate all his deſigns to him, which had no other end than the welfare and tranquillity of the Engliſh nation, and the general good of Chriſtianity: which views were common to him, to the King of *France*, and to all Chriſtian Princes. He concludes, by entreating him to concur in cheriſhing the laudable diſpoſitions of a People, whoſe neighbourhood gave him a facility to aſſiſt them, to which his good-will could not be wanting. At the ſame time he ſent *James* a ſword and cap of Maintenance, with a ſecond letter which ſet off the typical ſignification of each preſent.

THE Contents of the Letter to the French King are much the ſame with the former; but he takes notice, that he had often endeavoured, as he was bound in duty, to bring about a Peace between him and the Emperor, but to no effect.

THE Letter to *Mary*, the Dowager Queen of

Hungary, Siſter to *Charles* V. and Governeſs of the Low Countries, was much to the ſame purpoſe: but as it was to a perſon of that Sex, whoſe reſentments of injured honour are very lively, it inſinuated to her the indignity with which her Aunt *Catharine* of *Arragon* had been treated, as an additional motive to exert herſelf in the cauſe of Religion, Juſtice, and the duties annexed to Royalty. To inforce this, the holy Father, added, that though his own proceedings in this affair had been primarily guided by the great ends of Equity, and the obligations which his character of a common Father of the Faithful brought on him, yet he had not been unmindful of the perſonal decency which he owed himſelf *.

THESE Letters ſeem, in great meaſure, to have been planned on a Memorial which the CARDINAL had given in to the Pope, as ſoon as he was nominated to this Embaſſy. It is wrote in Italian, and the Original preſerved amongſt the *Vatican* Manuſcripts. In this he deſires that his Credentials for *England* may be in honourable terms, in order to give the Nation a proof of the Pope's regard in ſending them a perſon of integrity and moderation, and whoſe ſole view was to be beneficial to his Country. He obſerves, that the favours and privileges, which the holy See is accuſtomed to grant, ſhould be diſpenſed in ſuch manner as to produce as much edification, as they had formerly cauſed ſcandal, by being diſtributed for other purpoſes, than thoſe for which they were intended. He ſays, the Reſult of what was required of the Nation ought to be no more,

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 2a. pag. 217, inter Monumenta Præliminaria.

than

than to have Religious matters reinſtated as they were before the late innovations, with reſpect, at leaſt, to the ancient faith, and to whatever was neceſſary in order to a reconciliation with an offended God. That, as to ſeveral other points, he was of opinion, much condeſcenſion ſhould be uſed, leſt while more was inſiſted on than could be obtained, every thing ſhould be denied: and that in matters, in which the ſubſtance of Religion was not concerned, more regard ſhould be paid to the exigences of the preſent times, than to what had been anciently practiſed. He concludes with theſe words; "There is one thing more, holy Father, which appears to me very important, and which I cannot omit without being wanting to the truſt repoſed in me. The caſe is very poſſible, that the King, perceiving the general diſcontent of his Subjects, may, in order to appeaſe it, promiſe to redreſs their grievances, without any deſign of doing ſo; and, when the danger is over, may proceed, at different times, and on ſeveral pretexts, to puniſh the Leaders with death. If the Nation, on this account, ſhould deſiſt from any further thought of relief, or want means to purſue it, ſome proper perſon ſhould be appointed to keep up their reſolution, and a ſufficient fund allowed for that purpoſe *." *Henry*'s faithleſs and revengeful temper had ſuggeſted to the LEGATE this precaution, and the Event, as has been ſeen, ſoon ſhewed it to have been taken on very good grounds.

IN this manner the LEGATE and the Pope, in their letters, expreſs themſelves as to the nature of the Commiſſion, and the Views with which it

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 2a. pag. 224, inter Monumenta Præliminaria.

was

was undertaken. The principles on which the latter proceeded, were drawn from that univerſal ſuperintendence, which obliged him to watch over the ſpiritual welfare of each part of the Church, and gave him a right to uſe ſuch means as are proper to effect it. But the LEGATE being a native of *England*, it may not be unſeaſonable to ſay ſomething of the reaſons which induced him to accept of ſo delicate a negotiation, and enter on a kind of offenſive ſtate with his Sovereign: And this cannot be more fully cleared up to the Reader's ſatisfaction, than by laying before him the LEGATE's manner of reaſoning on it.

HE repreſents the Original Contract between the King and People as no longer ſubſiſting, having been violated by the former in many concerns of the higheſt and moſt weighty conſequence. That the *Grand Charter*, which was the bond of this mutual Covenant, was likewiſe the baſe of the liberty and property of the whole body of the People, and that the rights and immunities of the Church were ſecured by the very firſt Article of this Bulwark of our Conſtitution. That this had been confirmed by the repeated Statutes of numberleſs Parliaments, and by a Preſcription of above 400 years. That it had been ſolemnly ſworn to, by all our Kings, and had been always looked on as a neceſſary condition to their inauguration, and as correlative to the allegiance paid to their ſacred Perſons: that his preſent Majeſty had taken on him this engagement in like manner with his Predeceſſors. But though the Supremacy of the See of *Rome* had been conſtantly avowed by the *Engliſh* Nation, ever ſince ſhe had received Chriſtianity, through a period of 900 years, it was now become high treaſon to acknowledge it, and another

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Headſhip, with which all antiquity was unacquainted, ſet up in its ſtead, and the ſame penalty inflicted on thoſe who refuſed to ſubmit to it, as on Traitors and Felons. This, ſays the LEGATE, was the only crime of two of the greateſt and moſt valuable men this or any other nation had been bleſſed with, *More* and *Fiſher*, whom the King declared, he had ſingled out, that their puniſhment might be a leſſon to all others; and not having ſpared perſons of ſuch eminence, no one, who ſhould gainſay his will, might flatter himſelf with impunity: And, in conſequence of theſe arbitrary proceedings, he, the LEGATE, had been outlawed. But the King had not only removed the ancient Landmarks, which aſcertained the Faith of his People; but invaded their property, by ejecting many thouſands out of their poſſeſſions, and delivering them over to vagrancy and want. Every day gave birth to the introduction of ſome novelty in Religion, or to acts of rapine and cruelty: and the Parliament was ſo far from being a barrier to theſe outrages, that their ſlaviſh compliance armed the King with greater terrour than the moſt abſolute Monarchy, by making the Repreſentatives of the People their joint Oppreſſors. That the Nation had declared the ſenſe of its wrongs by the meaſures it was now entering on to redreſs them *.

THESE are the reaſons, which in his letters and other works, where this part of his conduct is the ſubject, he alleges as the motives of it. As to the manner in which he behaved himſelf through the whole negotiation, he has given an account of it, firſt to Cardinal *Pio*, the Pope's Embaſſador at the French Court, ſoon after the Inſurrections in *England* were ſuppreſſed, and

* Lib. I. de Unitate Eccleſiæ, paſſim.

when

when there was no proſpect of ſucceſs from that quarter; and, afterwards to *Edward* VI. on his acceſſion. Both relations are drawn up with ſuch ingenuous candour, that it muſt be very difficult to queſtion the Writer's veracity, had we no other proof of it but his own Word. Theſe documents were made public when the affair was recent, which muſt have rendered any miſrepreſentation of no effect, eſpecially to the latter: The Miniſters of that Prince could not but be informed of every thing that then paſſed, and had the LEGATE been guilty of any impoſture of this kind, they would not have failed to detect and expoſe it. Yet this is what was never attempted.

"ONE great purpoſe of my Embaſſy, ſays he, writing to *Pio*, was to promote a Peace between the Emperor and the King of *France*, and to diſpoſe them to the convocation of a General Council. To this I muſt add what concerned the affairs of my own Country. My orders were to do every thing within my power for its welfare, and to ſettle its fluctuating ſtate into that ſteadineſs of religion and manners, in which, for many ages, it had ſet an example to all other Nations. In this I had no other views than ſuch as were drawn from my love for my Country, my zeal for the King's honour, the tranquillity of the Chriſtian Commonwealth, and the ſervice of my Maker. This was the real end I propoſed in my legation, with reſpect to *England*, and is ſuch a one, I preſume, as none will blame. The other point under conſideration is, whether the means I employed were ſuch as can be juſtified. There were methods too of applying the cure to a diſeaſe which had begun with the head, and infected the whole body of the Nation; and though ſeveral judged the rougheſt remedies

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neceſſary in a caſe ſo deſperate, and the People, by riſing in arms, ſeemed to favour this method; for my own part, I always propoſed the other expedient: it being my conſtant opinion, in oppoſition to many others, that lenity and moderation ſhould take place; and if I have erred in any thing, it is in this. When I ſet out for the Court of *France*, I propoſed to ſuggeſt no other method. The friendſhip which ſubſiſts between the two Kings, the perſonal regard of one of them for the Pope, and his reverence for the See of *Rome*, which the other had renounced, ſeemed very favourable to bring things to a happy concluſion. Who indeed could be ſo fit for ſuch a negotiation as this Prince? eſpecially as the tumults and ſeditions in *England* ſeemed to make ſuch a ſtep adviſeable to him, who gave occaſion to them, was he to conſult nothing beyond his own intereſt. Had I been admitted to his Chriſtian Majeſty's preſence, this is the Sum of what I was to have propoſed: but I was excluded from it, at the inſtance of that Prince, for whoſe ſake I had undertaken the journey. I omit many things, on which I had deliberated for the King of *England*'s honour, and the univerſal joy of Chriſtianity. If his Majeſty, from any averſion to the Order of Men, of which I have the honour to be a member, had, at firſt, refuſed to treat with me, I had in my company a perſon, who, whilſt he had almoſt the ſole management of affairs under *Clement* VII. had given the ſtrongeſt proofs of affection and zeal for the King's ſervice; whoſe friendſhip the natives of our Country have experienced on all occaſions; and whoſe good offices I have heard his Majeſty often mention with a peculiar ſignification of gratitude. This perſon is the Biſhop of *Verona*, who is in no leſs eſteem with the Moſt Chriſtian King, and, which is much more to his

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commendation, has, by the integrity of his life, and a faithful difcharge of all Epifcopal Duties, given fuch an example of an irreproachable Prelate, as is fcarcely to be matched in a long feries of years. I judged this excellent man the moft likely to prevail on both Kings to act in a manner agreeable to their dignity, and what the moft important interefts required of one: and with this view I prevailed on him to leave his Bifhoprick, and accompany me*."

THIS is a part of the letter which the LEGATE wrote to Cardinal *Pio*. It is very long, and I have only cited what relates to the method he propofed to follow in what concerned *England*. The knowledge of his character to whom the letter is wrote, and who had a fingular efteem for the LEGATE, will give weight to the contents, and cannot but entertain the Reader, efpecially as there will be occafion to mention him elfewhere.

RODOLPHUS PIO defcended from the Princes of *Carpi*, a fmall ftate within the Dutchy of *Modena*. He was brought up at the Univerfity of *Padua*, and going thence to the Court of *Rome*, his good qualities recommended him to *Clement* VII. Being fent Embaffador to *France*, his talents for bufinefs began to be as much taken notice of as his probity had already been, and the fucceeding Popes, on feveral occafions, teftified their confideration for him. He was promoted to the Purple by *Paul* III. the year before the time I am fpeaking of, and, foon after, fent again Embaffador to *France*. He contributed to the interview of *Francis* I. and *Charles* V. at *Nice*; and the diftrict of *Ancona* being afterwards committed to his care, he behaved fo as to become a

* Epift. *R. Poli*, pars 2a. pag. 33.

model

model of an Eccleſiaſtical Governor. He enlarged the Church of *Loretto*, which is in that juriſdiction, fortified the Port of *Ancona*, reformed abuſes in the adminiſtration of juſtice, eſtabliſhed order in the civil affairs, and provided for the general tranquillity and welfare of that Province. The Pope going to meet the Emperor between *Parma* and *Placentia*, in 1543, he was appointed Governor of *Rome* during his abſence, and, afterwards, of that part of the Eccleſiaſtical State, which goes by the name of the Church's Patrimony. He had the option of three of the principal Biſhopricks near *Rome*, *Albi*, *Freſcati*, and *Oſtia*, which are always conferred on the moſt eminent Cardinals, was Protector of ſeveral Religious Orders, and Dean of the ſacred College. *Sadolet* compliments him on his fine Library, and its being open to men of learning *. His merit, and the univerſal eſteem he had gained, would probably have raiſed him to the Papacy, had he lived to ſee it again vacant. This amiable man died in 1564, in the ſixty-fifth year of his age, and a beautiful Monument, with an honourable inſcription, has been raiſed to his Memory in the Church of the *Trinity*, on Mount *Cælius*, in *Rome*, which Strangers viſit among other Curioſities of that City.

The Legate delivers himſelf to *Edward* VI. on the ſubject of his commiſſion, with the ſame artleſs freedom, with which he had opened it to Cardinal *Pio*. " I am charged, ſays he, with having accepted an Embaſſy to ſeveral powerful Princes, with a deſign to ſtir them up to war againſt the King, your Father. I readily grant, I was ſent Embaſſador to the Emperor and King of

* Epiſt. l. 5. epiſt. 5.

of *France*, on *His* part, whoſe duty it was to ſeek, from every quarter, a remedy to thoſe Evils, in which the King had involved himſelf and the whole Kingdom. But my aim with both theſe Princes tended to prevail on them to employ gentle and benevolent methods, in order to raiſe a friend and brother, who was fallen into the worſt of extremities, and confirm him in his Royal ſtate; not annoy and oppreſs him. Nothing could be farther from my diſpoſition than a deſign to his diſadvantage, nor did any thing, which could give the leaſt indication of it, drop from me, on this occaſion. I could not but know of what weight their authority and example might be, in ſo honourable a cauſe; and I entreated them to exert all their influence, that he would no longer perſiſt in a ſeparation from the Church, which was a common Parent, nor in a diſagreement from all other Chriſtian Princes. I will not deny, but that, if offices of perſuaſion and friendſhip were to no effect, I then adviſed them to employ threats, and to break off all intercourſe and communication with him. This is all I can be juſtly charged with againſt the King, to whom I was no otherwiſe an Enemy, than by endeavouring to reſtore him to himſelf, to his people, and, more than all the reſt, to his God. Nor had I recourſe to this laſt expedient, till his caſe was almoſt deſperate; and then I applied it with the utmoſt hazard of my own life; which ſacrifice I was willing to make, rather than leave any thing unattempted, which might contribute to bring him to a ſenſe of his condition, and withdraw him from utter ruin*."

* Epiſt. *R. Poli,* pars 4a. pag. 306. Epiſt. ad *Edo. R.* §. 45.

THESE

THESE paſſages ſufficiently ſhew with how little juſtice the LEGATE has been accuſed of hatred to his Prince, and making uſe of all arts to diſtreſs him. His conduct on this head has been ſo far miſrepreſented by ſome Writers, as to ſuppoſe he aſpired to the throne, and gave himſelf all this trouble with that view; and one of our lateſt and moſt impartial Hiſtorians, who, in general, is very equitable to the CARDINAL's character, countenances this inſinuation *.

HAVING related the import of the LEGATE's commiſſion, and his behaviour in it, the ſame letter to Cardinal *Pio* informs us of ſome curious Anecdotes which prepared him for the diſappointment, in which the Whole was to conclude. The journey, indeed, made his virtues known and admired wherever he came; and gave proof of that patient wiſdom, which is beſt ſeen where our hopes are abortive. As to the end for which it was undertaken, it was quite defeated by the political views of thoſe Princes, who had engaged to ſecond it; by the change of affairs in *England*, and the ſmall proſpect of theſe taking a more favourable turn.

THE Court of *England* intereſted itſelf too much in what concerned the CARDINAL, not to be informed of all the Steps he had taken, and of the report of thoſe he was ſoon to take: and this occaſioned him to receive a very unuſual mark of the conſequence in which he was held, to whatever cauſe he attached himſelf. Soon after he had ſent the treatiſe *of the Church's Unity*, to the King, and as he was ſetting out for the Low Countries, he received a letter, wrote on the part of both Houſes of Parliament; and that it might have the greater authority, each of the members of this illuſtrious body put their name

* Mr. *Hume*, vol. I. of the *Tudors*, p. 225.

to it. The letter was a vehement reproof of the abovementioned Work; and of the Author himself, for accepting the Cardinalate, and for making *Rome* his residence; together with an offer of a conference on the Religious Controversies, with which *England* was taken up, if he came into *Flanders* without a public character. If he had not yet accepted the Purple, it was a dissuasive from so doing.—" He begins his reply by the highest signification of esteem and good will to the august Assembly, to whom he wrote; and desires them to weigh, with their wonted prudence, what he had to say for his writings, and his present state of life.—That being ordered by the King to send him his opinion of the Supremacy, he could not but comply with his orders; nor, according to the principles of the Religion which he professed, make any other answer than he had made.—He desires them to read over the Work, and they would see it contained nothing more than what he said; unless in the Conclusion, where he points out to the King, in the plainest and strongest terms, the means by which he may recover the reputation he has forfeited, free himself from danger, and recover the favour of God and Man. And as they had objected, that he had treated his Sovereign with too great freedom; he asks them, in his turn, if he has feigned any one article in the whole Charge? if he has advanced a single fact, of his own head, or related it, as to the manner, otherwise than it happened? And, this being the case, they must blame them, whose pernicious counsels had drawn the king into these shameful measures; not him, who, that he might see his shame, and retrieve his fall, disguised none of his misdeeds, though at the risk of forfeiting his favour.—To their objection, that he had injured his Prince's honour, he observes, this must be in their estimate only, who had read the

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Work; and that the King was the ſole perſon, who, as yet, had a Copy of it; whereas, had his deſign been to hurt his reputation, he might, with the greateſt ſatisfaction of ſeveral eminent Potentates, have given it to the Public."

HAVING ſaid this of the Work, he comes, next, to himſelf. "My Lords, and Gentlemen, ſays he, by whoſe counſel the affairs of this Realm are governed, you have been long acquainted with me and my family. What is the reaſon that I have been ſo long deprived of my country, relations, and of every thing that is dear to man? am I an Outlaw? is a price put on my head? am I driven from home for any crime of mine, or of thoſe I belong to? did I want means or ability to riſe to honours in my Country? I appeal to you, moſt noble Duke of *Norfolk*, who have put your name to the letter, in which I am reproached with ingratitude, and I appeal to your conſcience, if, at the time, when the Pope's authority and the Divorce were firſt called in queſtion, and my opinion aſked, any one would have been promoted to the See of *York* preferably to myſelf, had I acquieſed to what the King deſired. I appeal to you, I ſay, becauſe you diſcourſed me on this head, not once only, but a ſecond and a third time; and, at length, told me, that the King, ſeeing I could not be brought over to his meaſures, had laid aſide all further thought of conferring on me the Archbiſhoprick: but you, from the affection you bore me, had prevailed on his Majeſty to defer nominating any one elſe, till you had made a laſt effort on me. What diſpoſition did you, my Lord, then diſcover in me? What anſwer did I make to the offer of ſuch preferment? That the King's honour and welfare were dearer to me than any emolument I could propoſe to myſelf, and that I could not aſſent to what he required of me, without giving up all concern for both.

He then comes to their objection of his residing at *Rome*, and desires them to consider; "whether, in this he did any thing inconsistent with his former life.—As it has ever been my fixed opinion, says he, that we owe a deference to the Bishop of *Rome*, as to the Vicar of Jesus Christ, I was to obey the summons I received from him, to go to *Rome*. But this has nothing to do with my attachment to my Sovereign, and is only the effect of my persuasion as to a particular tenet. My love for him was still the same, though I disagreed with him in this point.—You may, perhaps, reply, as, indeed you tell me in your letter, that this precaution is vain, and destitute of all foundation: to which, my Lords, and Gentlemen, I must answer in the following manner; Supposing I had a contest with you on any military affair, in which most of you are as skilful, as I am ignorant; you might, with much reason, tell me, it was fitting I should assent to you rather than you to me, so in the present Controversy, about a point of Doctrine, in which you are less expert, and I have spent my life, and given up all other pretensions, that I might be thoroughly acquainted with the merits of the cause; I may justly ask you to refer to me, and to the cause of truth, rather than endeavour to bring me over to your way of thinking.—But, not to speak of myself, if you imagine your Ancestors knew any thing of the matter in debate, these sentiments came strongly recommended to you from them; or, if you consult the upright and learned men in other Kingdoms, you will find, that each one, in proportion as he is knowing and pious, is an Abettor of them."

As to what the parliament had wrote to him, that in accepting the Cardinalate, he declared himself the King's Enemy; he asks them, "if the King was at enmity with that dignity, in which there was no malevolence; that quality being inherent

herent not to an Order, but to the Individuals, of whom it was made up: and a perſon might be a friend to the king, and yet a Cardinal.—But, the Pope, you ſay, is the King's enemy. To which he replies, that he who had the moſt frequent opportunity of hearing and knowing the Pontiff's ſentiments, had never diſcovered any but thoſe of a Parent, both towards his Majeſty and his People.—That the honours he had received, were conferred on him with a view to the credit and emolument of the *Engliſh* Nation, and had been accepted by him with the like diſpoſitions.—That he was about to ſet out on an Embaſſy for their honour and advantage, and nothing ſhould hinder him from exerting himſelf in ſuch a cauſe. And, whereas they had ſignified to him, that if he came in a private character into the Low Countries, they had prevailed on the King to ſend over ſome perſons to confer with on the diſputes which then divided the Nation; he, likewiſe, had obtained of the Pope to treat with them either in *France* or *Flanders*, as ſhould be moſt convenient to the King's majeſty and to themſelves.—That they ought not to take a cauſeleſs exception againſt the name of Cardinal, becauſe one of that Order had lately been the ſource of all theſe diſorders; but hope, that though he had been pernicious, another might be ſalutary.—That if this was to be effected by the beſt of intentions, by care, by a deſire of their welfare and the King's honour, they were aſſur'd of all this, from him. But if they imagined he was to be prevailed on to relinquiſh his principles, he let them know, there was no intereſt, no tie he was not ready to ſacrifice to them. *Wolſey.*

He ends with deſiring them to weigh well the part they were to take, the tumults, which the late innovations had raiſed, and further diſturbances, which might enſue on the like changes; that

the cauſe was of ſuch a nature as not to affect only the King's honour and the Nation's tranquillity, in this tranſitory ſcene, but extended to a future ſtate of exiſtence: and to a Judgment Seat, at which thoſe muſt be tried, who prefer the uncertainty of their own opinions, to that invariable Rule, which he, who is to preſide at that Tribunal, has preſcribed*."

As ſoon as it was known that the LEGATE was to take his road through *France*, *John de Selva*, Biſhop of *Lavadour*, and Embaſſador for that nation to the Republic of *Venice*, acquainted him by a very elegant and polite letter, that he had wrote to the high Steward of *France*, to inform him of the quality of the illuſtrious Gueſt he was ſoon to receive, and made no doubt, but he would ſhew him all the regard he was intitled to †. This Prelate had been his cotemporary at *Padua*, and had there conceived an admiration for his merit, which he retained ever after. Being taken off in the prime of life, he had rather an opportunity of raiſing an expectation, than leaving a great name.

Grand Maitre de *France*.

THE LEGATE left *Rome* early in the year 1537, with a retinue ſuited to his birth, his character, and the importance of the negotiation. Amongſt thoſe who accompanied him, were *Matthew Giberti* Biſhop of *Verona*, who from the eſteem he had conceived for him, on his firſt coming to *Italy*, would, in a declining age, undergo the inconveniencies of ſo long a journey, and all the hazards of an affair, the event of which was very equivocal; by *Aloyſius Priuli*, a Venetian Nobleman, of whom mention has been already made; by *Beccatelli*, his Secretary, who was afterwards Biſhop of *Raguſa*, and wrote his life; and by ſe-

* Apologia ad *Angliæ* Parliamentum, Ep. *R. Poli*, pars 1, pag. 179.

† Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 2a. epiſtola 52.

veral

veral other perſons of rank and merit. He was on his journey in Lent, and the Diet of that ſeaſon not agreeing with his conſtitution, he found his health and ſtrength much impaired. His Secretary had mentioned this in a letter to *Contareni*, who writing, ſoon after, to the LEGATE, and taking notice of the obligation he was under of having care of himſelf, entreats him to have a deference, in what regarded this article, to the advice of the Biſhop of *Verona*, and *Priuli*. I ſhould not have mentioned this particular, which may appear inconſiderable, but as it gave occaſion to ſome reflections equally ſolid and uſeful. " There is no illuſion more dangerous, ſays that judicious Cardinal, in his letter to the LEGATE, than what pious, and otherwiſe prudent men fall into; when they perſuade themſelves that a confidence in the divine aſſiſtance makes caution and forecaſt ſuperfluous; whereas theſe notions are in reality the effect of preſumption and pride." The LEGATE in his anſwer, which is dated from *Bononia*, aſſures him, " he had ſubmitted to his opinion, however contrary to his own way of thinking: that his reaſon for not referring ſooner to the judgment of his two friends, was the fear of giving offence, which would be of ſo much more pernicious conſequence, as his Character laid him more open to obſervation, and as he was deſirous to avoid even the appearance of evil: but if this point could not be gained without tranſgreſſing on a more material duty, he ſhould do as they preſcribed, yet with ſuch moderation, as, unleſs neceſſity obliged him, not to depart from the common rule, and give others a pretext for doing ſo." The temper, indeed, of Mankind has always been ſuch, as to exact example from thoſe who undertake to inſtruct or reform; and where this has been wanting, precepts and diſcourſe have been found ineffectual. 28th *Feb.*

He desires *Contareni* to entreat the Pope to recommend, in his daily supplications to Almighty God, both himself, and the business he was charged with, as he had promised him on his leaving *Rome*. He represents this as more important than his health, of which his Friend was so solicitous, and insists on it through a great part of his letter. "It may seem singular, says he, that I should ask nothing else, when I took leave of his Holiness, than what is asked of the most insignificant Monk, that he would be mindful of me in his prayers; but it can only appear so to those who are ignorant of the efficacy of prayer. It is beyond common belief, nor do I find words to express the alacrity I have experienced, on other occasions, when I had recommended my undertakings to the Almighty, through the petitions of his servants: nor should I be credited, was I to relate the difficulties, the anguishes of mind, with which my early years were particularly assailed, and which I have surmounted by this sole method*." I am affraid the request will, now-a-days, seem still more singular than at the time it was made; for though the supplications offered to *Jupiter* by a *Roman Consul*, and the public worship of *Osiris*, by which the laws of *Ægypt* obliged their Kings to begin the day, give no offence to a learned Antiquary, or a fashionable Unbeliever; he reads, with scorn and contempt, that a Christian Ambassador should lay any stress on the interposition of the Vicegerent of that Being who over-rules all events, and *beneath whom those are bowed who uphold the World.* Thus every moral is well received, provided it be not drawn from Christianity; and no example can want Admirers but his, *who is the way, the truth, and the life.*

Job. (margin note beside "vided it be not drawn from Christianity")

* Epist. *R. Poli,* pars 2a. pag. 25.

THE

The Legate being arrived at *Placentia*, informed *Contareni* that, ſince the perſon, who was employed to bring him intelligence had left *England*, he had heard nothing of the meeting in the North, on which ſays he, every thing depends: and the winter being long in thoſe parts, he hoped to reach the Neighbourhood, from whence he might be ſerviceable to the cauſe, before it could be convened. Some things, likewiſe, had happened at *Rome* ſince his departure, which are not ſpecified; and *Contareni* having encouraged him to purſue with magnanimity what he had undertaken, he was very deſirous to open his whole mind to him, on this ſubject, as ſoon as he had leiſure, which his expeditious manner of travelling had hitherto denied him. Being now at *Placentia*, he wrote to his Friend, "that all his Company was gone out to ſee the City, though the decorum of his Character, or, as he terms it, his golden ſhackles did not allow him to appear in public. He took, therefore, that opportunity of throwing himſelf out on paper, on the whole purpoſe of the Embaſſy, with the ſame unreſervedneſs they were accuſtomed to in their private converſations." His preſent ſituation naturally put him on this review; though, as we learn from his own account, he had canvaſſed the affair very accurately, before he embarked in it. He was now removed from the avocations of the Promoters of his Journey, and the Scene of action was now at hand. "That I have undertaken, ſays he, a great and difficult affair, no one ſees more clearly than myſelf: but this proſpect does not frighten me. It appeared, indeed, ſo very intricate to ſome of our friends, who have the higheſt reputation for prudence, that they made no difficulty of ſaying publickly, they could not but admire my courage, and if they had cared to ſpeak out, they would have ſaid my raſhneſs. Others, again, blame my ſimplicity in ſuffering

fering myſelf to be drawn into an affair equally troubleſome and hazardous. What can I ſay to all this? I ſhall make no reply to my Objectors, but many things to myſelf, and to you my friend, alſo which is the ſame as to think aloud *."...... The reſt of the letter is wanting, and we have reaſon to regret what is loſt, as it would, probably, have given us a great inſight into the Writer's ſagacity in foreſeeing dangers, and his ſteadineſs in not being moved at them.

HAVING ſtaid a day at *Placentia*, he continued his journey, and as ſoon as he entered the *French* dominions, was every where received, by that Monarch's orders, with particular marks of diſtinction. 1500 ducats. At *Lyons* he firſt perceived that the Appointments of the Embaſſy were by no means anſwerable to exigencies of ſo large a Retinue, and wrote to *Contareni* to aſk an augmentation of the Pope, as all ſupplies from his own fortunes were intercepted: And the Pope, on this repreſentation, though he did not think proper to augment the appointments, it being the regulated ſum for Ambaſſadors out of *Italy*, yet he allowed him, by way of extraordinary ſubſidy, to draw for what ſums he ſhould ſtand in need of.

BUT an Incident of far other importance than the above-mentioned, happened whilſt he was at *Lyons*, and this was the news he received of the defeat of the Inſurgents, in which the Leaders had been taken Priſoners, and put to death. At the ſame time it was reported, that the King, in order to give ſome ſatisfaction to the People, had promiſed the Malecontents a meeting at *York*, where the Religious grievances which had cauſed theſe tumults, ſhould be diſcuſſed: that the day appointed for the meeting, which was to have been at the end of *March*, had been put off to the

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 2a. epiſt. 15.

24th

24th of *June:* but, then, even this report had loſt credit, and no other meeting was expected than that which was lately held at *London*, where all former proceedings had been ratified with greater violence than they were firſt enacted*.

THOUGH this unexpected turn of affairs ſeemed to diſconcert all the LEGATE's meaſures with reſpect to *England*, he reſolved to leave nothing undone, on his part, in order to bring them to a deſirable concluſion, and ſet out for *Paris*. His entry into that city was attended with every demonſtration of reſpect from the Clergy and the People; but the King, who with the Court was at a ſmall diſtance from the Capital, ſignified to him, on the very day of his arrival, that he could not admit him to treat of the buſineſs he came on, nor even permit him to make any ſtay in his dominions: he deſired him therefore, not to aſk an audience, which he ſhould be obliged to deny, and to leave the Kingdom without delay. At the ſame time, he aſſured the LEGATE, that this proceeding was contrary to his own inclinations, and had been extorted from him at the inſtance of a Prince, who was a declared enemy to the LEGATE, to his Order, and to the purpoſe of his Embaſſy: but that preſſing neceſſity of his own affairs did not allow him to act otherwiſe.

THIS exigency was the flame of war, which had been lighted up, for ſome years, between the Houſes of *Auſtria* and *Valois*, and now raged with all that fury, which the mad ambition of rival and powerful Princes can kindle. Some time before, the Emperor had entered *France*, by the *Pyrenean* Mountains, at the head of 148,000 men, and had already aſſigned to the Grandees, who accompanied him, the ſeveral Provinces and De-

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 2a. epiſt. 19, *Paulo* Pont. pag. 51.

partments

partments of a Kingdom, which he looked upon as conquered. This formidable preparation had that event in which, it were to be wiſhed, all ſuch attempts might end; ſhame and diſappointment. But this, inſtead of allaying, had only quickened the bent of the contending Parties to annoy one another: and each of them was deſirous that his Rival ſhould declare againſt the King of *England*, and, by that means, engage that Prince's intereſt to himſelf.

WITH this view alone, though others were pretended, it may be preſumed their Embaſſadors had been ſo importunate for the LEGATE's departure from *Rome*, and had promiſed him every aſſiſtance, by which their reſpective Maſters could further the ſucceſs of it. *Henry*, who very well knew his own importance, had given them both to underſtand, that any countenance ſhewn to the LEGATE ſhould be followed by a rupture, on his part; and this check alone on Princes, who were guided by conſiderations, which began and ended in themſelves, might have evinced the inutility of any ſcheme to the King of *England*'s diſadvantage, in which their concurrence was neceſſary. Yet, as the ſpring of Hope ever riſes in the human breaſt, we ſhall ſee, within leſs than two years after this project was defeated, a ſecond ſet on foot, on the ſame foundation, and, like this, vaniſhing in apparatus.

THE French King's orders to leave his dominions were intimated to the LEGATE both by letter and a verbal meſſage, delivered to him by one of the Court: and as they contained no more than the Public was neceſſarily to be informed of, no precaution was made uſe of to conceal them: but there was a ſecret Article, demanded by the Engliſh Court, which *Francis* had ſuppreſſed, for the honour of his Ally; and which he refuſed to comply with, for his own. The LEGATE was privately

vately given to underſtand, that *Henry*'s Embaſſadors had inſiſted on his being caſt into irons, and put into their hands, in order to be conveyed to *England*. This demand had likewiſe reached the ears of ſome of his former acquaintance, who were then at *Paris*, and alarmed them in ſuch a manner, that they came to him immediately on his arrival, and conjured him to leave the Kingdom with the utmoſt expedition. He gives an account of theſe particulars in his letters to Cardinal *Pio*, and to the Pope; and giving ſcope to that indignation, which naturally riſes in an upright mind, at ſuch treatment, he breaks out into the following reflections: "That this demand tended to baniſh all good faith from ſociety, and was the higheſt indignity which could be offered the moſt Chriſtian King: that the plea of friendſhip, which ſubſiſted between the two Crowns, was a vain pretext, as the firſt law of that ſacred band was to aſk nothing of our friends, but what was conſiſtent with their honour; and, that a contrary behaviour diſſolved the tie. He could not but wonder at the French King's forbearance in not ſhewing a ſuitable reſentment at a demand which muſt ſuppoſe him void of worth and principle, and regardleſs of the common Rights of Mankind, by which the Character of thoſe who are ſent on publick buſineſs has been an inviolable protection to their Perſons. That this Maxim was ſo univerſal, that had he been ſent to a public Robber, inſtead of a King of *France*, he could hardly imagine any of the fraternity would have been ſo unmindful of the Law of Nature, as to aſk that he ſhould be delivered up to them. He cites what has been celebrated by *Cicero* as a peculiar inſtance of *Cato*'s felicity, *that none had ever dared to aſk any thing of him, which was diſhonourable*; and concludes with the mean and contemptible opinion one man muſt entertain of an-

other,

other, who is not aſhamed to make him a propoſal of the greateſt infamy *."

The French King ſoftened the ſeeming harſhneſs of the orders for the LEGATE's immediate departure, by treating him in every other reſpect, with great deference and good will. He cauſed particular honours to be paid him at the time the orders were intimated. He admitted at his requeſt, the Biſhop of *Verona* to his preſence, with whom he had repeated conferences; and appointed a company of his Guards to attend the LEGATE to the frontiers of his Kingdom.

The diſappointment he met with at the French Court, was only an eſſay of what he was to encounter in the ſequel of this affair. Had he found there a different welcome, he was only to take it in his way to the *Netherlands*: here he was to take up his reſidence, as a place more ſafe and convenient, in caſe *England* ſhould be ſhut to him. Though *Francis* I. had paid no regard to the ſubject of his Embaſſy, and cauſed him to leave his States almoſt as ſoon as he had entered them, yet he had entertained his Gueſt, in his paſſage, with great humanity, and provided him an honourable Eſcort to the place of his deſtination. The LEGATE had promiſed himſelf a ſtill more friendly reception at his arrival into the Emperor's dominions, and all the aſſiſtance which that Prince's Embaſſadors had ſtipulated before he left *Rome*. This is the manner in which he contraſts the behaviour of theſe Sovereigns. Being come, therefore, to *Cambray*, which was then a free and neutral City, he diſpatched one of his retinue to *Bruſſels*, where *Eleonora*, Siſter to *Charles* V. the Dowager Queen of *Hungary*, and Governeſs of the Low Countries, then kept her Court. But though the Meſſenger carried a letter, by

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 2a, pag. 25, et pag. 50.

which

which the LEGATE notified his arrival to the Biſhop and Prince of *Liege*, who was of the Queen's Council, and then at *Bruſſels*, he was not permitted to purſue his journey; but after being detained by the Governor of *Valenciennes*, who was Brother to the Biſhop of *Cambray*, was ſent back: and the reaſon aſſigned for this proceeding, that he came from *France*, and could not be ſuffered to go any further till the Queen's pleaſure was known. But the LEGATE had been informed, that an Agent from the King of *England* was lately arrived at that Court; and ſoon perceived, that the ſame reaſons of ſtate, which prevailed on the French King to have him quit his Dominions in ſuch haſte, now cauſed the Emperor to exclude him, and all who belonged to him, from his. Could he have had any doubt of this fact, what happened during a whole month he was at *Cambray*, muſt have put it beyond all queſtion. As none of his own family were allowed to approach the Queen, he had never ceaſed by third perſons to ſolicit a ſafeguard into her Brother's territories, without being able to procure it. At length the Biſhop of *Cambray* ſent a perſon, on his own part, to the Prince of *Liege*: and though it is only one day's journey, the Meſſenger did not come back till after ten. On his return he brought no letter (ſuch was the pedantic formality of Auſtrian politics) but only a verbal meſſage from the Prince, which gave the LEGATE but ſlender hopes of being able to leave, with ſafety, the place where he was; but notified to him the dangers to which he was expoſed, and the ſnares which were laid for him. At the ſame time, this generous Prelate made him an offer of every thing he was maſter of, and took on himſelf to provide for his ſafety and convenience, if he thought proper to reſide in his Principality. The LEGATE, in his preſent circumſtances, would have

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preferred this party to any other, could it have been accepted in a manner becoming his character, for he did not approve of travelling in disguise, as the Prince proposed. He prevailed therefore on the Bishop, whose Guest he still was, to send his Archdeacon, a person of singular parts and integrity, to Court, and charged him with proper instructions. This second Messenger, after eleven days stay, returned with an answer from the Queen and the Prince, to the following effect: "that as soon as the affair had been debated in Council, her Majesty would send a proper safeguard to escort the LEGATE to *Liege*, where his Highness promised him a reception answerable to all his occasions."

THE situation he was in at *Cambray* could not well be more disagreeable. The whole Country was infested by French and German Freebooters, who made it unsafe to go out of the Gates of the City; and the Inhabitants suffered little less than in a Blockade. He had, besides, every thing to apprehend from the English, who were continually passing to and fro, some of whom had been taken in a design on his life. The Bishop, who on his arrival had received him with great civility, began now, on perceiving the coldness of the Court of *Brussels*, to regulate his own dispositions by those of his Superiors, and betrayed a change of behaviour, which could not escape the notice of
In 1542. his Guest. This Courtly Prelate was of the house of *Crouij*, and five years after, delivered up to the Emperor the City of which he was Bishop, and had the principal jurisdiction; and which had preserved its Liberty during some Centuries. In this confinement the LEGATE had full leisure to write a long and accurate letter to the Pope, in which, besides the particulars of his journey since he left *Rome*, he replies to the orders, which the

Pontiff

Pontiff, on hearing there was no longer any proſpect of a change in the Engliſh affairs, had ſent him to repair to *Rome*, that he might aſſiſt at the general Council, which he propoſed ſoon to open at *Mantua*, though it was, afterwards put off for ſome years, and then held at *Trent*.

"He begins by aſſuring the Pope of his readineſs to obey his commands; but as his return to *Italy* would, at that time, be very hazardous, and there were ſome reaſons which ſeemed to favour his ſtay in thoſe parts, he thought it his duty to lay them before his Holineſs, who might reſolve, when he had weighed them, on what he judged moſt expedient. But before I enter on theſe conſiderations, ſays he, I ſhall, moſt holy Father, repreſent to you what may ſeem to corroborate your own ſentiment and haſten my immediate departure. The cauſe for which I undertook this journey, is now become ſo deſperate, as not to deſerve the leaſt riſk ſhould be run for it: nor can your Holineſs be taxed with inconſiderateneſs in undertaking, or with levity in laying it aſide, ſince the difference of circumſtances juſtifies both proceedings. Theſe meaſures were concerted when the People of *England* were in arms, and had men of birth and ability to head them, and the Cauſe, on the whole, promiſed ſucceſs. That the Engliſh Miniſtry were under theſe apprehenſions, is apparent from the efforts they made to hinder me from a nearer approach: but, now, the Inſurrection is quelled, and the leaders put to death. If any hopes yet remain, ſome degree of ſecurity is neceſſary to the perſon who is to revive them; which is ſo far from being the caſe, that I ſee nothing but danger from all parts; and, therefore the cenſure will fall, not on my being recalled, but continuing where I am. This conſideration has ſtill more weight, as I ſeem to be the only Miniſter who can be charged with ſuch a

negociation; and tho' that which I am now engaged in, has proved unſucceſsful, yet his Holineſs's forecaſt would be acknowledged in ſending me, at ſuch a juncture, to a People, diſpoſed as the Engliſh then ſeemed to be; though his vigilance and ſagacity could not command events, which were not in Man's diſpoſal, but in the good pleaſure of the Almighty.—He then proceeds to the reaſons which ſeemed to make a longer ſtay in the neighbourhood of England, adviſeable: all which, he ſays, may be reduced to that capital one, the cauſe, for which the journey was undertaken; for if this was of ſuch moment as to deſerve all the care and expence which had hitherto been employed, it ought to have no leſs weight in preventing it being entirely given up, till it fully appeared whether any thing further could be effected. That, there could be no doubt but his precipitate departure would diſpirit thoſe whoſe welfare was ſo earneſtly deſired, and give their Adverſaries all the advantage they could wiſh. That, if his Country received no ſeaſonable aſſiſtance, but was left at large to tranſmit to poſterity the errors which then prevailed, ſucceeding times would undertake a difficult and perhaps a fruitleſs work in endeavouring to bring her back to her ancient rites: the zeal, therefore, of all well-wiſhers to the common cauſe of Chriſtianity ſhould be anſwerable to the obſtinacy of thoſe who ſtrive to pervert her received doctrines, and rend, for ever, ſo fair a portion from the communion of the Catholic Church; nor did it appear how this zeal could be more effectually exerted, than by placing in their ſight one of their own nation, whoſe reputation had always been unblemiſhed, and his religious principles pure and unchanged; whoſe example and authority might have an influence on them, before the remembrance of the paths they had forſaken was quite obliterated, and all fur-

ther

ther concern about them, laid aside: and be such a one as to shew more by deeds than speeches, that no dangers were capable of intimidating him, when the welfare of his Country was at stake. That the natural effect of the King's late proceedings was to exasperate the minds of the people and instruct them in greater caution, as the Insurrection had been appeased, first, by fair words and promises, by which the Leaders were deceived, and then put to death: but that the same wrongs still subsisted, and the same inclination to redress them: and if they had any hopes in a Chief, opportunities of asserting their rights could never be wanting in the present ferment. This prospect, indeed, might be distant, but ought still to be kept in view; and there was no forbearance but should be submitted to, when such a point was to be gained. He concludes with observing, he was not ignorant that he incurred the indignation of a powerful King, who was his avowed enemy, and would leave nothing untried to destroy him: that he had already threatened to compass this by the same means, by which *Philip* of *Macedon* said the strongest fortresses might be taken, if they were accessible to Mules laden with gold, and had declared he would employ 100,000 broad pieces to be master of him alive or dead*." This is the sum of the LEGATE's dispatch, which is penned with such judgment, that the Pope sent it to be transcribed by the Cardinal *Alexander Farnese*, as a model on which public persons might form their manner of writing.

18th *May*, 1537.

HIS Friend *Contareni* wrote to him about the same time, that his not assuming a public Character, tho' he was sent on an embassy of such consequence, seemed to derogate from the dignity of the holy See; and therefore advised him neither

* Epist. *R. Poli*, pars 2a, pag. 46.

to leave the place with any unbecoming hurry, nor yet be buried there in obſcurity any longer. To this he replied, that *Contareni* need be under no apprehenſions of his not being as conſpicuous as his character required, ſince the Court of *England*, by their Spies and Emiſſaries, took care to make him more known than he deſired, not only in that, but in all the neighbouring ſtates; and that all his motions were ſo narrowly watched, that an Army might decamp with greater privacy than he could ſtir from one place to another.*

HAVING ſtaid ſix weeks at *Cambray* he ſet out for *Liege* with the Eſcort, which, after ſuch ungenerous ſhuffling, was at laſt, ſent him from *Bruſſels*: nor did he perform this journey, ſhort as it was, without much danger and difficulty. Soon
10th *June.* after his arrival he wrote to the Pope, extolling the generous hoſpitality of the Prince and Biſhop of that City, and the honourable retreat and daily good offices he received from him. As gratitude ſeems to have been a cardinal virtue of our illuſtrious Countryman, he ſignified the ſame to the ſacred College, and informs them, moreover, that the inhabitants of the capital, at their Prince's deſire, had teſtified ſo much good will and regard for his perſon, that nothing more was wanting either to his ſafety or dignity. He requeſts them to ſignify their acknowledgments to the Prince, for ſuch marks of diſtinction ſhewn to one of their
30th *June.* College; which they did in a manner ſuited to the Prince's deſert, and their own ſenſe of it.†

THIS retreat did not ſhelter him from *Henry*'s ſecret intrigues and open attempts to rid himſelf of a perſon, whoſe zeal for the civil and religious

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 2a, pag. 58, et 59.
† Ibid. pag. 59, 61, 63.

rights

rights of his Country made him at once the object of a Tyrant's hatred and fears. His agents employed every ftratagem to oblige him to leave the neighbourhood of *England*, and go back to *Rome*; and, thefe failing, they refolved to take away his life. The King had already attainted him of high treafon, confifcated all his fortunes, and put a reward of 15,000 crowns on his head. He had not been many days at *Liege*, when a letter from the Englifh Ambaffador at the Court of *Bruffels*, to one of his countrymen, was intercepted, in which he gave him repeated affurances, "how agreeable the execution of what they had difcourfed on, would be to his Britannic Majefty, and that he might expect a recompenfe anfwerable to the fervice. The perfon thus employed, fays the LEGATE came to him under pretence of being banifhed his Country, and, wanting other means of fubfiftence, defired to be admitted into his family: but either from the mifgivings of his own mind, or the confcioufnefs of guilt, being come to town in the evening, he left it on the morrow, before break of day; and, if his ftay had been longer, would have been caft into prifon.* He had feveral other efcapes of the fame kind, in which the malevolence of his enemies, and the watchfulnefs of a good Providence over his prefervation were equally vifible. But that a more attefted evidence of *Henry*'s difpofitions might be extant, he made an offer to the Privy Council of *Flanders*, of which the Prince of *Liege* was a member, to furnifh them with 4,000 Infantry, and keep them ten months in his pay, if they furrendered the LEGATE to him. The anfwer he made on the Prince's fignifying to him this propofal, manifefted the chriftian difpofition of his mind, and that contempt of life, which is one of thofe qualities

* Epift. *R. Poli*. pars 2a. p. 66.

which conſtitute Heroic Virtue. "The King, ſays he, is deceived, if he intends me harm: he would by taking away my life, procure me a repoſe beyond the reach of any further trouble he could give me; and would behave, in my regard, as one who helps another to put off his cloaths, that he may go to reſt."*

From the beginning of *June* to the 21ſt of *Aug.* 1537. His ſtay at *Liege* was about three months, during which the King of *England*'s aſcendant over the Malcontents of the Nation, and the little proſpect of the French and Imperial Courts intereſting themſelves in their cauſe, gave him fully to underſtand what was to be the iſſue of the Embaſſy. But though all the functions of the *Miniſter* were locked up, through want of opportunity to exert them, the *Man* never appeared in a more amiable and inſtructive light. He excelled in a domeſtic life, no leſs than in the moſt exalted ſtations, and practiſed, in this Retirement, all thoſe Virtues, which, without putting the faculties to the ſtretch, conſtitute the perfection of our nature. This has been tranſmitted to us in the following inſtances. *Contareni*, on ſending him the Pope's permiſſion to draw on the treaſury for what ſupplies he found neceſſary, had cautioned him to uſe this grant with moderation, as the Exchequer was greatly incumbered. On this he deſired his friend *Priuli* to ſtate the detail of his expence, and when it was drawn up with the utmoſt preciſion, he ſent it to be examined at *Rome*, as what would clear him from all ſuſpicion of want of œconomy. But, not content with this, that he might do juſtice to all who were charged with the management of his houſhold concerns, he certified, they were ſo frugal, that if the Cenſor *Cato* himſelf was to overlook the accounts, he would find nothing to retrench. The Biſhop of *Verona*, though he was ap-

* Vita Car. *Poli*, pag. 19.

pointed

pointed to aſſiſt him in affairs of the higheſt moment, yet had condeſcended to enter into this minute computation: His preſence alone, ſays the LEGATE, is ſufficient to check all ſuperfluities, and to cauſe decency and order.† However unfaſhionable this detail may appear to a ſpendthrift and thoughtleſs Age, it was in great repute with that People from whom we are very fond of drawing parallels, and whoſe virtues we admire whilſt we copy their vices. In the moſt flouriſhing ſtate of that Republic, they placed Frugality not only among the duties of a good Citizen, but of a great Magiſtrate.

THE manner in which the LEGATE and the principal perſons of his houſhold ſpent their time during their ſtay at *Liege*, was not leſs inſtructive than their œconomy of the public Money. The morning, unleſs buſineſs called them abroad, was employed in their Apartments, till an hour and a half before dinner, when all met in a domeſtic Chapel, and performed in common, the divine office, at which the Biſhop of *Verona* preſided, as Maſter of the Ceremonies. The *Maſs* ſucceeded to this part of the Liturgy, after which they dined. St. *Bernard*'s works were read at the beginning of table; they then converſed. When dinner was ended, the Biſhop generally read to the company a chapter in *Euſebius's Preparation of the Goſpel*, which uſeful work, as we learn from the Preface inſcribed by *Donatus* of *Verona*, to *Paul* III. he had lately cauſed to be tranſlated into the latin tongue. When this was over, diſcourſe for an hour or two was again reſumed, and then each retired 'till an hour and a half before ſupper. They all then aſſembled and ſang the remaining part of the divine Office; and, that being ended, the LEGATE, every other day, expounded St. *Paul*'s

† Vita Car. *Poli*, pag. 64.

Epiſtles, having begun with thoſe to *Timothy*, in which the Duties of Churchmen, eſpecially of the higher order, are ſet forth and recommended. He undertook this taſk at the entreaty of his Houſhold, and acquitted himſelf of it to the higheſt ſatisfaction of them all, and chiefly of the Biſhop of *Verona*. "How often have I wiſhed, ſays *Priuli*, in a letter to *Becatelli*, who was abſent, that you and the Biſhop of *Fano*, were preſent at the Lectures of this excellent man; and were witneſſes of the reverence, humility, and judgment with which he diſcharges himſelf of this expoſition: they are ſo remarkable, that I can riſe my Ideas no higher, nor do I think my love for him makes me partial in this eſtimate. I hope to retain enough to give you a ſpecimen at our firſt meeting." They ſupped after the Lecture, and then, as it was the Summer ſeaſon, they took the relaxation of a walk, or a barge on the *Maeſe*, and in diſcourſes becoming ſuch company. "We conſtantly regret, ſays *Priuli*, in the ſame letter, the abſence of *Becatelli* and my Lord of *Fano*, and deſire they might partake with us in this delightful and irreproachable manner of paſſing our time; and we ſend up our joint thankſgivings to the Author of our happineſs. How often does my Lord LEGATE repeat to me, *certe Deus nobis hæc otia fecit:* to which he never fails to add, why is not my Lord *Contareni* with us! *

IT may be with truth aſſerted, that this great Man poſſeſſed his ſoul in patience and thankfulneſs under thoſe preſſures, which minds leſs inured to Chriſtian Philoſophy, look upon as misfortune and diſtreſs: that the pomp and oſtentation of that Court, which perſecuted him, was effaced

* Epiſt. *R. Poli.* pars 2a. pag. 104. inter Monum Præliminaria.

by

by the ſhades and by-paths of his retirements: and his evening walks on the banks of the *Maeſe* more illuſtrious, in a diſcerning eye, than the march of *Francis* I. or *Charles* V. at the head of an hundred thouſand men.

I CANNOT but here take notice of a remarkable difference between this Chriſtian diſtribution of the day which was obſerved by the LEGATE and his family, and what *Cochley* relates to have been practiſed, much about the ſame time, by *Luther* and his reforming Companions at *Smalcald.* "In this meeting, ſays he, *Luther* and his Diſciples uſed every artifice to oppoſe the General Council, which was then about to be held, and there was no extravagance they did not run into, on this ſubject. Whilſt the Pope, in the moſt ſolemn manner, declared that his only view in calling the Council was, that the whole World might be united in the Sheepfold of JESUS CHRIST, and each one live ſoberly, juſtly, and chaſtly, in true faith, hope, and charity, and thus receive the crown of righteouſneſs; they amuſed the Public with lampoons, Epiſtles from Belzebub, and ſuch like buffooneries*. The Relator of this fact was a Cotemporary Author, who had every opportunity of being informed of it, and is ſo unexceptionable a Voucher, as to deſerve the following character from *Thuanus.* "*John Cochley*, ſays this Hiſtorian, was a native of *Nurembourg*, and Cannon of *Breſlaw.* He excelled in Theology, as appears from what he writ in defence of the authority of the Canons, and of the Catholic Church. His ſkill in Controverſy appeared in the Conferences with the Divines of the Proteſtant Party at *Auſburg*, *Ratiſbon*, and *Worms*, in which

* *Cochlæi* Comment. de Actis et Scriptis *Luth.* ad. an. 1537.

he

he gained great reputation. He died on the 10th of *January* 1552 †.

THE cauſe for which the LEGATE's journey was undertaken having now no appearance of ſupport in *England*, his reſidence in the Neighbourhood of that Kingdom was judged no longer neceſſary: eſpecially as thoſe Powers, who alone could ſhew any countenance to it, had refuſed to give him ſo much as a bare hearing on it. The dangers likewiſe to which his own life lay daily open, and the inconveniencies to which any longer ſtay might expoſe the generous Prince, in whoſe City he was, and who, in defiance of the threats of the Engliſh Court, continued every mark of diſintereſted friendſhip to him, moved the Pope to reiterate the orders he had lately given him of returning to *Rome*: and the General Council which was fixed on the beginning of *November*, made his preſence greatly deſired at that juncture.

"HIS Holineſs, in his letter, ſignifies his concern for the unfortunate concluſion of the Embaſſy, and for having expoſed the LEGATE to ſo many labours and dangers to no purpoſe: that he comforted himſelf, however, with the conſciouſneſs of his own integrity, and the LEGATE's fortitude, to whom the detriment of the public cauſe had been more grievous than any conſideration which touched himſelf: that, this Chriſtian generoſity appeared both in his and the Biſhop of *Verona*'s letters, and it was but fitting that he, the Pope, ſhould enter into the ſame ſentiments, and ſubmit to the divine Appointment: but that he could do no leſs than exempt ſo valuable a Miniſter from any further danger, and have him near his perſon, as his prudence could not but be very ſeaſonable in the many weighty affairs, which were ſoon to

† *Thu.* Hiſt. l. 11.

be

be diſcuſſed *." He wrote alſo to the King of the *Romans*, " that the LEGATE being to take his road thro' the ſtates of the Empire, his Majeſty was entreated to provide every thing for his ſecurity, and to write to thoſe Princes, through whoſe territories he was to paſs, to do the ſame. He recommended the ſame care to the Elector of *Cologne* †. 30th *June*. 21ſt *July*. 1537.

BEFORE the LEGATE left *Liege*, he thanked, by letter, the three principal Miniſters at *Bruſſels*, *de Prat*, *Scerper*, and the Archbiſhop of *Palermo*, for the inſtances of humanity they had ſhewed him; and informed them of the ſignal obligations he had to the Prince, under whoſe hoſpitable roof he ſtill was. The expreſſions he makes uſe of ſeem to indicate that theſe Stateſmen had been ſo far ſerviceable to him, as was conſiſtent with the politics of a Court entirely under the guidance of the Emperor. They had ſignified their diſpoſitions in his regard to the Biſhop of *Verona*, who was allowed to go to *Bruſſels*, though the LEGATE was not. He deſires the Archbiſhop to aſſure the Queen of his reſpects: and, the overflowings of a grateful heart breaking out, he delivers himſelf on the ſubject of the Prince of *Liege*, with a warmth which might well make thoſe Courts bluſh, which, notwithſtanding all their engagements, had performed nothing. " He has behaved, ſays he, in my regard, not only with the tenderneſs of the beſt of Friends, but with the munificence of an opulent Monarch, and I could not but give you the pleaſure of hearing the commendations of this excellent man, whom you love and honour ‡."

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars. 2a. pag. 273, inter Mon. Præ.
† *Ibidem.*
‡ Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 2a. pag. 48, et ſeq.

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THE princely generoſity of this Prelate was the more commendable, as it was conferred on a ſtranger; but, as this ſtranger was an Engliſhman, it has a peculiar right to be recorded here from the following paſſage in *Priuli*'s letter to *Becatelli*. "To-morrow we ſet out on our return to *Italy*. Since my laſt, in which I gave you an account of the hoſpitality with which the Prince has regaled my Lord, the LEGATE, and ſhewn him, on all occaſions, a more than paternal affection, his Highneſs has not ceaſed to give him, every day, and almoſt every hour, ſome freſh demonſtration of theſe diſpoſitions. Amongſt others, he cancelled a Note of 1500 crowns, which the LEGATE had taken up on his coming here, and returned it to him. Two days after, he made him a preſent of 2000 crowns, requeſting he would receive them as a token of his love, and lay them out in a ſervice of plate, or in whatever manner was moſt agreeable to him. All reſiſtance was to no purpoſe; he was conſtrained to accept the ſum, and has already wrote to a friend in *Italy*, to order the plate with the Arms of his Benefactor. As the LEGATE had been informed of the riſk he was to run, in his way to *Italy*, from the Engliſh Emiſſaries, the Prince has ſpent three days in conſulting with thoſe who are acquainted with the roads, and taking every precaution for the ſafety of his noble Gueſt. Such accuracy and forecaſt does Friendſhip either find or create in great and elegant minds †."

21ſt *Aug*, 1537.

THAT I may not be wanting to the reputation of a perſon who deſerved ſo well of our Country by his behaviour to one who was the ornament of it, the Reader will give me leave to trace out a ſhort ſketch of his character. He was Son to *Robert* I. Duke of *Bouillion*, and of

† Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pag. 102, Diatribæ ad Epiſt.

Jane

Jane of *Morlay*. His family name was *la Marc*, and he received in Baptiſm that of *Everard*. He was choſen Biſhop and Prince of *Liege*, in 1505, and having firſt declared himſelf in favour of *France*, and been gratified with the Biſhoprick of *Chartres*, he afterwards went over to the intereſts of *Charles* V. in oppoſition to thoſe of *Francis* I. and greatly contributed, at the Diet at *Frankfort*, to have that Prince advanced to the Empire, on the death of his Grandfather *Maximilian*. *Charles* teſtified his gratitude by nominating him to the rich See of *Valencia*, in *Spain*, and procuring for him the Purple, for which he had an extreme fondneſs, of *Leo* X. He likewiſe permitted him to exerciſe, in the Low Countries, the Legantine Juriſdiction, which had been granted him by *Clement* VII. The Prelate had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing this ſeries of felicity continued to him by the good offices of his late grateful gueſt. On his arrival at *Rome*, being informed that a Kinſman of his Benefactor was deſirous to be admitted into Cardinal *Alexander Farneſe*'s family, he recommended him to the Pope in ſuch ſtrong terms, that he was immediately placed in one of the firſt poſts of a houſhold, which was then one of the moſt numerous, noble, and polite in Europe, and where moſt ancient and modern languages were correctly ſpoken by the different perſons who compoſed it. But the moſt valuable proof the LEGATE gave him of his attachment to his real intereſt, was by ſeconding the deſign he had of reforming his Dioceſe. The manners of the People and Clergy of *Liege* were remarkably corrupt: and, as it generally happens, their averſion to a Reform was equal to the need they had of it. The great pains the Biſhop took on this head, ſhews the ſenſe he had of his obligations, and the LEGATE's concurrence with theſe ſalutary endea-

endeavours, is no leſs commendable. This ſpirit of zeal and goodneſs breathes through the ſix Letters which he wrote to him on this ſubject, and two to the Provoſt of *Tongres.* There is a remarkable accuracy in them all; a caution to inform the Prince of every thing it was proper he ſhould know; a ſignification of gratitude for his paſt favours, and of a mind inured to application, which enabled him to enter into the moſt minute detail, and unite the care of an Agent to the dignity of an Equal. He procured for his Friend ſuch an extenſion of the Legantine powers, as the unhappineſs of thoſe times required; and prevailed on him, though ſomething againſt his inclinations, to acquieſce to the form in which this enlargment was granted, as moſt agreeable to his dignity and to the nature of the commiſſion. The three laſt of theſe letters, which are dated in the beginning of the following year, did not reach *Liege* till after the Prince's death, which happened in *February*, within half a year after the LEGATE's departure. *Eraſmus* celebrates this great Prelate for his generous encouragement of letters, the ſtately buildings with which he adorned not only his own Principality, but ſeveral Cities in *Flanders*, and for ſhewing, by the uſe he made of wealth and honours, how deſerving he was of both*. Some years before his death he erected a very ſumptuous Memorial of himſelf, and placed it in the midſt of the Quire of the Cathedral, where it ſtill remains as freſh and unimpaired as his merits are in the minds of his People. It conſiſts of a Tomb, raiſed a conſiderable height from the ground; on the flat of which the Prelate is repreſented, in a kneeling poſture, as large as the life, in his Cardinal's robes; and at the oppoſite end, a Skeleton of Death,

* Epiſt. *Eraſm.* pag. 1025, ed. *Baſil.*

beckon-

beckoning to him; with other ſmaller emblematical Figures. The whole is of caſt braſs, gilt at a vaſt expence, and the workmanſhip ſo exquiſite as to paſs for one of the moſt magnificent Monuments in Europe. Several of our curious Countrymen, who have been in the neigbouring *Spa*, muſt remember they have conſidered it in this light.

In this manner an end was put to a Negotiation which had been entered on by the Pope, from a zeal of uniting *England* to the Catholic Church; and by the LEGATE, on the ſame diſintereſted and Chriſtian views. The ſituation of the Engliſh affairs was ſuch, as might promiſe ſucceſs to the enterprize, eſpecially to minds prepoſſeſs'd with an ardent deſire of it. The Emperor and French King had not only encouraged the undertaking, but engaged to ſecond the LEGATE's endeavours, in a manner anſwerable to the importance of the buſineſs, and their own power to forward it: but as neither of them had any other deſign, than to make the whole affair ſubſervient to their private ends, they let *Henry*, and all Europe know, how much his enmity was dreaded by her two moſt powerful Princes; and, on that account, were ſo far from affording any aid to the cauſe, that they were a real and great detriment to it. This very poſſible Event the LEGATE himſelf had foreſeen, as appears from the diffidence, with which he entered on the undertaking, and the letter he wrote to *Contareni* from *Lyons*, when he was engaged in it. His judicious friend *Sadolet*, writing to him, ſome time after, tells him, " he bore the fruitleſs ſucceſs of the affair with greater evenneſs, as he had, all along, foreſeen how it would end *." But the obedience he owed to the Roman Pontiff, the

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 2a. pag. 71.

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importunity of the Imperial and French Miniſters, the aſſiſtance his Country ſtood in need of, and at that juncture ſeemed to call for, cauſed him to liſten to the voice of duty, though at the riſk of peril and diſappointment.

BEING arrived at *Trent*, he received a Diſpatch from the Court of *Rome*, which was deſigned to have reached him before he had left *Liege*, and by which the Pope left him at large either to paſs the winter there, or return to *Rome*, as he judged moſt convenient. But he tells *Contareni*, that, all things conſidered, he looked on it as a fortunate circumſtance, not to have received theſe orders till it was too late to deliberate on the alternative they propoſed, and that he had complied with his Holineſs's firſt commands, before the ſecond had reached him. The Letter to *Contareni* is writ from *Bovolona*, a country Seat of the Biſhop of *Verona*, not far from *Hoſtilia*, a town in the Dutchy of *Mantua*, and ſituated on the Banks of the *Po*. That Prelate having aſſiſted him with his preſence, his friendſhip, and every kind of good offices during the late troubleſome buſineſs, beſtowed on him, as they were about to take leave of each other, thoſe marks of generoſity, which as our countryman obſerves, he had a much better title to receive. "This, he adds, is an obligation to which I ſhall not be wanting, whenever Providence affords me the means of liberality, which, at preſent, it ſeems to deny, in order to make room for that of others."

HE was viſited here by the *Contareni* family, and ſaw them, he ſays, with the ſame complacence he was accuſtomed to feel, on meeting, after a long abſence, his own Relations: and as he let ſlip no opportunity of deſerving well of literature and Virtue, he prevailed on *Flaminius* who came from *Verona*, to pay his reſpects to him, to enrich the

the Latin Poetry with a tranſlation of the Pſalms, which, as we have elſewhere ſeen from *Thuanus*, has been received with general approbation. From *Hoſtilia* he came by water to *Ferrara*; and from thence went to *Ravenna*, that he might take *Loretto* in his way to *Rome*. On the road he heard of the death of *Coſmus Geri*, Biſhop of *Fano*, whom long acquaintance, and ſimilitude of manners had rendered very dear to him; and who was taken off in the prime of life, before his friend had reached *Bologna*, where he hoped to meet him.

BEING come to *Rome*, he gave the Pope a full account of his Embaſſy; and tho' the event had not anſwered expectation, yet as he had diſcharged it with every commendation which can make a public character truly valuable, he was received with thoſe teſtimonies of eſteem, which ſhould always accompany real, though unſucceſsful merit: and the Legantine Commiſſion being now at an end, he returned to the condition of a private CARDINAL.

SECT IV.

Several interesting Anecdotes of his private Life.
His Embassy to Charles V.
Inscribes an Apology to that Prince.

ENGLAND still continued to be a scene of as many changes as new passions rose in her Monarch's breast, or as former ones were not yet satiated. The plunder of near 400 Religious houses, whose yearly income amounted to 32,000 pounds, besides a great stock in goods and chattels, and which had been sufficient for the maintenance of 10,000 religious persons, and a much greater number of Retainers, had only increased the cravings of *Henry*'s avarice: and the mere abduration of the Papal supremacy seemed but a slight revenge on that See, whose authority was yet revered by so large a part of his Subjects, and was still in his way with respect to further innovations, on which he was now wholly bent. In the preamble to the Act for dissolving the lesser Monasteries, the Parliament, on the report of the visitors, had declared, that, *in the greater Houses, thanks be to God, Religion was well kept up and observed**. But this was to little purpose with a Prince, who had already fixed their fate, and *whose passions ran so strong for dissolution, that he could scarce endure the report of a fair character given to the Religious* †. There were, at this time, about 700 Religious houses in *England* and *Wales*,

* Anno *Hen.* VIII.

† *Giffard's*, one of the Commissioners, letter to *Cromwell*, 29th *June*, 1537.

Wales,* eight and twenty of which gave their Abbots a Seat in the upper Houſe of Parliament.† The yearly value of theſe places, excluſive of their moveable goods, which muſt have been beyond any eſtimate, was computed at 135,522 pounds. This Income, however, great as it is, bore a much leſſer proportion to the wealth of the nation than is generally imagined, The produce of the lands and poſſeſſions of *England*, ſome time before this period, had been rated at three millions; and thus what the Monaſteries poſſeſſed did not exceed one twentieth part of the national revenue; a ſum much below what a deſign to deſtroy them, firſt gave out, and credulity has ſtill retained. It could, one would imagine, be no eaſy matter to ſeize on ſo large a property, which was pretty equally divided over the whole Kingdom, and had been aſſured to the Poſſeſſours by every title on which Right can be founded, by a preſcription of many centuries, and by the repeated Acts of above thirty Parliaments. As this ſubject is intimately connected with the ſubſequent part of this hiſtory, and takes in a great variety of curious intelligence, I ſhall preſent the Reader with ſuch a ſummary view of it, as may prepare him for that part of the CARDINAL's conduct which was intereſted in it, and enable him to judge of theſe inſtitutions, not by the prejudices under which they generally labour in our Country, but from facts themſelves.

* *Camden* reckons 645. A liſt taken out of the Court of firſt fruits and tythes makes them amount to 754: this difference may have riſen from ſome colleges and ſuch like foundations having been thrown into the number.

† *Fuller* ſays 27; Lord *Herbert*, 28: and Sir *Ed. Coke*, 29.

The Legiſlature having made the abovementioned declaration in favour of the Monaſteries, no ſuch depravity could be ſuppoſed to have pervaded theſe Retreats, within the ſhort ſpace of three years, which intervened between the diſſolution of the greater and leſſer houſes, as could call for a total extirpation; thoſe methods, therefore, were made uſe of, which by endeavouring to conceal half the iniquity of the proceeding, made the whole more odious. It was judged expedient that the ſeizure ſhould paſs for a ſurrender and voluntary ceſſion on the part of thoſe who were turned out of their poſſeſſions. In conſequence of this plan, before the diſſolution took place, on a vacancy of the Heads of any of the Houſes, ſuch perſons were put into their place as ſeemed moſt likely to be brought over to the meaſures of the Court. Large penſions for life were offered, and when motives of honour and conſcience were alledged by the Incumbents for non-compliance, their behaviour was imputed to diſobedience to the King's pleaſure: and Spiritual Directors were prevailed on to perſuade the Nuns, they were obliged to ſubmit. When theſe methods failed, the refractory Abbots were, on different pretences, removed, and others more manageable put in their room. Menaces and rigour ſucceeded to the promiſes made to the Monks; and they were threatened with being accuſed of the moſt infamous diſorders. The Commiſſioners took away the Conventual ſeal from their houſes, and by this and ſuch like means made the payment of their debts, and their very ſubſiſtence, in ſome meaſure, impracticable. They could neither make Leaſes, nor diſpoſe of their valuable effects. If any of the Religious gave out, that his ſurrender was involuntary, a mark of diſlike was ſet on him, and he was denied that ſcanty allowance, which was granted to

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his Brethren*. In ſo great a number of houſes, very few were taken by compoſition; the reſt were ſtarved into a ſurrender, or ſtormed by violence, or gained by thoſe Artifices which prevail on the paſſions of Mankind†. The allowance granted to the Abbots and other Superiors was proportioned to the readineſs they had ſhewn in giving up their houſes; and each private Religious had a ſmall yearly pittance, frequently ill paid, as appears from the complaints of the Sufferers, and orders for the better obſervance of Statutes provided in ſuch caſes. The Nuns were allowed about four pounds a year; but no proviſion is found to have been made for ſuch as were lately entered; they were turned out on the world, and left at large. By this means an incredible number of women of birth and faſhion, being excluded from a ſettlement in the marriage ſtate, could have no rank which they properly filled. Great intereſt was made in behalf of the Sufferers, from ſeveral parts of the Kingdom, eſpecially from Oxfordſhire, in favour of the Monaſteries of the Women. Their lives were ſo remarkably blameleſs, as to ſeem to deſerve an exemption from the general ruin. But neither perſonal merit, nor a regard due to the tenderneſs of the Sex, was any protection againſt avarice and lawleſs ſway.

THE Nation, during theſe tranſactions, was amuſed with rumours of an alliance between the Emperor and the French King to invade *England*, and that CARDINAL POLE was ſtirring up all *Europe* to a holy war on the ſame account, and the People were taught to believe, that this additional wealth would enable the King not only

* *Collier*'s Ch. Hiſt. V. 2. B. 3. p. 136. *Dugdale*'s Hiſt. of *Warwickſhire*, p. 801.

† *Fuller's* Ch. Hiſt. N. B. 6. p. 307. and p. 346.

to repel his Enemies, but to regain whatever his Predeceſſors had poſſeſſed in *France*. The Nobility were induced to acquieſce to this amazing revolution, by a promiſe of a ſhare in the plunder, which *Henry*, as waſteful as rapacious, ſquandered almoſt as ſhamefully as he had acquired it. I ſhall inſtance this in two or three examples, though they have nothing in particular which diſtinguiſhes them from others without number. A Grant was made of a religious houſe to a Gentlewoman, for a diſh of puddings, which happened to pleaſe the King's palate; and ſeveral thouſands a year, which had belonged to Monaſteries, were gamed away at dice. A ring of *Jeſus* bells, remarkable for their ſize and harmony, was loſt, at one throw, to Sir *Miles Patridge**. Lord Chancellor *Audley*, employed a ſpecial Agent to treat of a ſurrender, with the Abbot of *Athely*; and by a perſonal ſollicitation prevailed on St. *Oſith*'s, in *Eſſex*, to come into the ſame meaſures. At the ſame time, he entreated his Majeſty to provide him with ſomething more lucrative; and, as an argument to obtain the Abbey of *Walden*, in the ſame County, out of whoſe ruins the ſtately fabrick, known by the name of *Audley-End*, was built, after having extenuated its value, he urged the great damages and infamy he had ſuſtained in ſerving the Crown, for which this grant would make him amends†.

A VERY rational doubt yet remained, how Religious Perſons could alienate and transfer to the King, a property of which they themſelves were only Tenants for life: and an Act of Parliament was framed, in order to remove all future ſcruples on this head, and ſettle *Rapine* and *Sacrilege*, as Lord *Herbert* terms them, on the King and his Heirs for ever. Both Houſes were informed,

* *Stow*'s Survey of *London*, in *Farringdon-ward*. *Fuller* quoted by *Collier*, Ch. Hiſt. vol. 2. b. 3, pag. 166.

† *Dugdale*'s Antiquities of *Warwickſhire*, p. 801.

that

that by this increaſe of the Royal Revenue, the King would be in a condition to live on his own, to defend his Kingdom, aſſiſt his Confederates, and reward thoſe who deſerved well of him; and that his Majeſty for ever in time to come, would take care theſe funds ſhould not be turned to private uſe: that, the Exchequer being thus enriched, 40,000 well-trained Soldiers might be kept on foot, and the Subject never more charged with ſubſidies, fifteenths, loans, and common aids; and that the honour of the Realm might not ſeem to ſuffer any diminution, by the ſuppreſſion of the nine and twenty Abbots or Priors, who held Baronies of the Crown, in right of which they were Lords of Parliament, the number of Peers was to be augmented.‡ On theſe pretexts the greater Monaſteries were all granted to the King, but no proviſion was made for the purpoſes to which the Grant was limited, or for any part of them. They were given to Him and his Succeſſors, in general terms, to diſpoſe of as they ſhould think fit, to God's honour, and the Welfare of the Realm. It does not appear to have been debated in either Houſe, whether they had a power to diſpoſſeſs ſome hundred thouſands perſons of their dwelling and fortunes, whom, a few years before, they had declared to be good ſubjects; if ſuch as live well come under that denomination. They ſeem to have as little conſidered, whether ſome things are not above the reach of the Legiſlature, and if a Statute can unconſecrate a Church, and make Sacrilege no crime. All Religions, natural and revealed, true and falſe, have conſtantly ſuppoſed Conſecrations made to the Supreme Being, to be of a real and perpetual nature: the conſequence

‡ *Coke*'s Inſtitutes, part 4. fol. 44. and N. B. 3d. p. 165.

of which is, that whatever is thus transferred, and, as it were, veſted in him, cannot be taken back without his conſent, ſignified by thoſe he has appointed Interpreters of his will, and Delegates of his power. "Now, ſays Sir *Edward Coke*, obſerve the concluſion of this Tragedy: In that very Parliament, when the great and opulent Priory of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem* was given to the King, and which was the laſt Monaſtery ſeized on, he demanded a freſh Subſidy of the Clergy and Laity; he did the ſame again within two years; and again three years after; and, since the diſſolution, exacted great loans, and, againſt law, obtained them *."

Nor is it this great Lawyer alone, who, having related theſe ſtrange tranſactions, falls into the like reflections on them. I ſhall only ſet down the judgment which Proteſtant Writers have paſſed on this matter, as their religious principles cannot make them ſuſpected of partiality to the cauſe of the Sufferers, though their candour has cauſed them to do it juſtice. I have related elſewhere the juſt and ſevere cenſure with which ſome of them have condemned the firſt innovation of this kind, though made by the Papal authority, and for purpoſes which ſeemed to anſwer the chief ends of the original inſtitution. Notwithſtanding which, they have doubted of the lawfulneſs of the proceeding, have remarked on the diſappointed views, under cover of which it was undertaken, and the unhappineſs which attended all thoſe who had any ſhare in it. They have delivered themſelves in ſtill ſtronger terms on the ſuppreſſion of the leſſer Monaſteries, and the diſaſtrous effect it had on ſo many innocent perſons, and on the Community in general. They have treat-

* *Coke*, where above cited.

ed this great and final deſtruction with the ſame impartiality, and what might ſeem reſentment and the effect of party ſpirit in a Writer of the Catholic communion, cannot but be well received from thoſe who are aliens to her worſhip. If theſe fair Reaſoners have thought ſo great a multiplicity of ſuch inſtitutions not neceſſary to religion, and detrimental to the ſtate, their diſapprobation has gone no further than to blame the exceſs of theſe plans of life, not to think it lawful to injure the perſons or property of thoſe who are engaged in them. Had the Monks been heard in their own cauſe, they could not have pleaded it with greater energy than theſe advocates have done it for them, on the evidence of facts, and from a principle which will do honour to their writings, whilſt equity and the lingering ſpirit of Religion has yet applauſe in Britain.

THEY conſider the eaſe and conveniency which our Gentry and Nobility enjoyed of providing for younger children, who were diſpoſed to retire from the world, with the opportunities of ſtudy and recollection, and an eſtabliſhment for life ſuited to the rank their family held: the charge of which was by this means leſſened, and the perpetuity of their eſtates better ſecured. The Abbeys were public Schools for education, each of them having one or more perſons ſet apart to inſtruct the Youth of the Neighbourhood, without any expence to the Parent: and young perſons of the other ſex had the ſame advantage from the Convents of Women, where they were taught needle-work, to read their mother tongue, and had ſometimes a tincture of the latin. Our beſt, and almoſt our only Hiſtorians were perſons of this profeſſion. Retirement afforded them leiſure for ſuch undertakings, and the Seat which the mitred Abbots held in Parliament

liament brought them acquainted with public life and the affairs of the Nation. Several of the Episcopal Sees were filled by that Order of men, and many of them had place in the Convocation. They not only promoted a general literary improvement, as far as it was understood or attainable in their times, but were industrious, at different periods of our national calamities, to restore learning, and rescue their Country from the ignorance into which those disasters had caused it to fall, and the Monks preserved what these had spared. Each of the greater Monasteries had a peculiar residence in the Universities; and whereas there were, in those times, near 300 Halls and private Schools in *Oxford*, besides the Colleges, there were not above eight remaining towards the middle of the last century.* These, before the dissolution, were regularly supplied with Students from their respective houses; but that, and other changes taking place, this supply failed: The Nobility and Gentry called home their Youth, and the whole genius of the Nation seemed turned from letters to pursuits of a very different kind. The general discouragement which the Ecclesiastical state lay under, made most people apply their time and industry, to what they thought would be more to their advantage. †

I AM not ignorant that true genius and that discernment which equally distinguishes the Writer and the Reader, had a very short date, even in *Italy*, where it was first revived, and attained

* Nam licèt 300 olim et adhuc plures, et famâ constanti et registrorum fide ductus extitisse crediderim, ad octo jam recidisse deprehendo. *Wood*, Antiq. *Oxon.* pagina 265.

† *Collier*'s Ch. Hist. V. 2. N. B. 3. pagina 166.

its

its greateſt perfection: the cauſes of which this Hiſtory is not intereſted to enquire into. The ſame may be obſerved with reſpect to our own Country, where the like advantages ſeem to have diſappeared almoſt as ſoon as they were enjoyed, and not to have reviſited us till after a long period. It muſt, however, be acknowledged, that, during the interval, we meet with ſome as great names as ever graced the annals of Literature. This obſtruction to improvement, after as fair a proſpect as ever opened on a Nation, muſt, I think, in ſome meaſure, be attributed to the total ſuppreſſion of that order of Men, from which Letters had hitherto chiefly drawn their ſupport and encouragement; and from other changes, which took their riſe in this.—The whole application of *Edward*'s ſhort reign was to finiſh the Religious deſtruction which his Father began; and that of his Siſter *Mary*'s to raiſe up again thoſe ruins.—The quaint conceits which prevailed under *Elizabeth* are now the laughter of every *Weſtminſter* ſchoolboy; and the devices and *merry diſports*, by which the pageantry of her reception was celebrated at *Kenilworth* Caſtle, in which the courtly humour and wit then in vogue were diſplayed, are on a level with the rebuffes of a *Dutch* Schoolmaſter, and the Rareeſhows of a *May-Fair*. Even *Spencer's Fairy Queen* is no leſs an inſtance of the bad taſte of thoſe times, than of the Author's genius. The Reader is vexed and diſappointed to find a beautiful imagination, ſmooth numbers, and great eaſe of expreſſion, employed on the affectations and fopperies of Knight-errantry, and on an allegory that never ends. The difference of manners in that and the preſent age, neither accounts for the cauſe of this degeneracy, nor ſets the effect in a more favourable light. It means no more, than that we have a

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diſcernment and elegance of mind, which they wanted. Manners have changed more ſince the ages of *Homer* and *Terence*, and yet their works are ſtill agreeable and intereſting in proportion to the Reader's judgment and taſte; and will continue to be ſo in every age.—Though a *Bacon* and *Raleigh* mark the Epoch of *James* I. the pedant reign of that Monarch was not likely to produce a large crop of excellence, of which his Majeſty would be thought the ſtandard.—Learning and the polite Arts flouriſhed under his Son; and a reliſh of them began to be national: and all the madneſs of the Civil Wars did not hinder One great genius from forming himſelf to a production, which has done as much honour to *England*, as can be derived from Poetry. But the tranquillity of this Prince was of a ſhort date: and the fanaticiſm of the *Commonwealth* deſpiſed human knowledge, and was as declared a foe to taſte and ſcience, as to order and law. —It was not till *Charles* the ſecond's days that the general ſenſe of the Nation awakened to a diſcernment in the various productions of genius, and returned to the taſte and elegance of Sir *Thomas More*, and the cotemporaries of his Æra.

The Monks were likewiſe the Guardians of thoſe Sources from whence Knowledge is derived, and moſt of the Records of the age were lodged with them. Printing was then but a late invention: and they had tranſcribed and preſerved the chief Manuſcripts both as to number and value. But, at the diſſolution, a very different fate happened to theſe Repoſitories of learning, for inſtead of being removed to public Libraries, they fell, with the Monaſteries, to the lot of perſons, who underſtood nothing of their value, but the price they would yield; and were often thrown into the Grant

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as things of ſmall conſideration. The avarice of the late intruders was ſo mean and their Ignorance ſo undiſtinguiſhing, that when the books happened to have coſtly covers, they tore them off, and threw away the works, or turned them to the vileſt purpoſes. A Citizen, who had purchaſed two magnificent Libraries for forty ſhillings, made no other uſe of them, during ten years, ſays a Proteſtant Biſhop,* who was acquainted with him, but as waſte Paper.

Besides the advantages of Literature, which the Nation received from the Monaſtic profeſſion, there were others ſtill more diffuſed, and more univerſally felt. The reſerved Rents of theſe Landlords were low, and their Fines eaſy. A part of the Produce of the Farm, without money, often diſcharged the Tenant. A boundleſs Hoſpitality was kept up to all ſorts of perſons; and public entertainment given to our Nobility and Gentry, when they travelled. An eſtimate may be made of their Alms from the following inſtance. While the Religious houſes ſubſiſted, there were no proviſions made by Parliament to relieve the Poor, no Aſſeſſment on the Pariſh for that purpoſe; but, at preſent, this charge on the Kingdom, amounts, by a low computation, to above 800,000l. a year. Now if we compare the annual Income of 135,522 pounds, 18 ſhillings, and 10 pence, which was the appraiſement of the Monaſtic lands, with the Poors tax, we ſhall ſee what the Nation has gained by the diſſolution. Nor does the different valuation of money in thoſe and the preſent times make any difference in the nature of the burden, as the poſſeſſours of the Abbey lands would find, if this rent-charge, which is drawn on the whole nation, was levied on them only. To theſe general

* *John Bale*'s (Biſhop of *Oſſory*,) declaration on *Leland*'s Journal, anno 1549.

benefits we muſt add thoſe which particular parts of the Community fond in theſe Inſtitutions. The Abbeys which held by Knights ſervice furniſhed a certain number of Soldiers, proportioned to their Eſtates, and equipped them for the field, at their own charge. They paid a ſum of money to defray the expence of Knighthood, when that diſtinction was conferred on their Founder's Heir; and contributed to a fortune for the marriage of their Lord's eldeſt Daughter. The Founders likewiſe had the privilege of *Corrody*, or of quartering a certain number of poor Servants on the Abbeys; and thus the aged and worn out with labour, who were no longer in a condition to ſupport themſelves, were not thrown up to ſtarving, or pariſh collections; but had a comfortable retreat, where they were maintained during life, without the hardſhips or marks of indigence*. On theſe conſiderations one of the Hiſtorians has made no difficulty to aſſert, that it would be but an act of common juſtice, to give the generality of Proteſtants a more favourable opinion of Monaſteries†: and the complicated and national guilt which was incurred by diſſolving them, has induced others to look on the calamities which trod on the heels of this iniquity, as ſo many indications of a provoked and avenging God‡. Of a hundred families of note and fortune, which were in the County of *Norfolk* before the diſſolution, all that had enriched themſelves by theſe ſpoils of ſacrilege, were either extinct, or much impaired, in Sir *Henry Spelman*'s time,

* *Fuller*'s Ch. Hiſt. b. 6, pag. 335. *Collier*'s Ch. Hiſt. vol. 2. b. 3, p. 165, and 166.

† *Tanner*'s Preface to his Notitia Monaſtica.

‡ *Fuller*'s Ch. Hiſt. b. 6, pag. 371.

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amongſt which the great and excellent man acknowledges his own *. The day which gave commencement to this crime was thought ominous; for on the meeting of the *long Parliament*, from which the Church of *England* dates her misfortunes, ſeveral perſons entreated Archbiſhop *Laud* to move the King to have it adjourned for a ſhort time, it being the ſame day on which the Legiſlature, in *Henry* the Eighth's reign, began the diſſolution of Religious houſes †. The anger of Heaven exerciſed on the Nobility a ſtill ſeverer vengeance than in permitting their poſſeſſions to moulder away, and their families to fall; more of that claſs having been attainted and died by the hand of the executioner within twenty years after the diſſolutions, than during the preceding five hundred; which was the ſpace between the Conqueſt and that period; and the Commons, doubtleſs, in their turn, have drank deep of this Cup of deadly wine. "*England* ſate weeping, ſays *Camden*, to ſee her wealth exhauſted, her coin embaſed and her Abbeys demoliſhed, which were the Monuments of ancient piety ‡."

3d. *Nov.* 1640.

THE King was not ſatisfied with breaking up the Communities, and ſeizing their poſſeſſions; he would likewiſe deſtroy their habitations. The CARDINAL, ſpeaking of this devaſtation, obſerves, that whilſt theſe ſtood, they reminded Mankind there had been a time when they belonged to other Owners: and *Henry* was deſirous to efface all ſuch Remembrances §. The buildings, for the moſt part, were very noble; and, as far as the forecaſt of their religious

* *Spelman*, Præf. de non temer. Eccleſ.
† *Echard*, Hiſtory of *England*, vol. 2, pag. 194.
‡ Introduction of the Annals of Q. *Elizabeth*, pag. 5.
§ Apol. ad *Carolum* V. Cæſ.

Founders

Founders could reach, deſigned to reſiſt the injuries of time, and to be perpetual Sanctuaries of divine worſhip; and as it was no eaſy work to demoliſh ſuch ſtructures by the uſual methods of pulling down, he cauſed them to be blown up. By this means, ſays the CARDINAL, many noble Edifices, and almoſt the only ones in *England* which deſerved that name, the Ornaments of the Kingdom, which hoſtile invaſion, and civil wars had ſpared, and which had ſtood the teſt of Ages, were, in a few hours, reduced to heaps of ruin." I ſhall only be particular in two inſtances, which the noble Relator has ſet forth in all the eloquence that ever animated a Grecian or Roman Writer, on ſubjects with which they were moſt affected *.

THERE was at *Canterbury* a celebrated Monaſtery of St. *Auſtin*, by whoſe preaching, labours, and miracles, our Saxon Anceſtors had received the benefit of Chriſtianity; and who, on that account, had been reverenced, during ſeven centuries, by the whole Nation, as their Apoſtle. His remains were preſerved in a magnificent ſhrine, and had been the object of public veneration thro' that long tract of time; and there was a ſtately

* Apol. ad. *Carolum* V. Cæſ. §. 23. et ſeq.

The following lines of Sir *John Denham*, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the Royal cauſe of King *Charles* I. and was one of the Parents of Engliſh Poetry, deſcribe a diſapprobation of theſe proceedings, in as ſtrong and elegant a ſtrain, as would have done honour to Mr. *Pope*, had he been pleaſed to do the ſame juſtice to the cauſe.

Who ſees theſe diſmal heaps, but would demand,
What *barbarous Invader* ſack'd the land!
But when he hears no *Goth*, no *Turk* did bring
This deſolation, but a *Chriſtian King*;
When nothing but the *name* of *zeal* appears,
'Twixt our *beſt* Actions, and the *worſt* of theirs,
What does he thing our *Sacrilege* would ſpare,
When ſuch th' effects of our *Devotion* are?

Cooper's Hill.

Church adjoining to the Monaſtery, in which divine ſervice was performed with great magnificence, and daily ſupplications offered up for the King's and the Nation's welfare. The Shrine, by *Henry*'s orders, was profaned, pillaged, and deſtroyed; and the Church and Monaſtery entirely demoliſhed. The incloſure was laid waſte; and appropriated to wild beaſts; and a palace raiſed out of the ruins, for ſomething ſtill more ſavage, *Himſelf.*

In the Cathedral of the ſame City was a Tomb ſacred to the memory of St. *Thomas*, Archbiſhop of that See, and adorned with every effort of art and magnificence, by which our own and foreign Countries could expreſs their veneration for him, whoſe remains it incloſed. The King, who by a raſh expreſſion gave occaſion to his murder, had teſtified the moſt unfeigned grief, and atoned for it by a very exemplary penitence: and the Perpetrators of the fact lived and died the outcaſt of Mankind. He had been acknowledged by the whole Chriſtian world, for the ſpace of 300 years, as a great Servant of God, who laid down his life in his cauſe, and as a principal Patron of the Engliſh nation. His tomb had been viſited from the remoteſt parts of *Europe*, by perſons of the firſt diſtinction, and amongſt others, by *Lewis* VII. of *France*; who enriched it with a donary worthy ſo great a Monarch, and ſuited to the importance of the occaſion, which was the recovery of the *Dauphin*'s health. The accounts of his life, and the manner of his death, which are come down to us from ſeveral cotemporary Writers, are ſo circumſtantial, and related with ſuch ingenuous plainneſs, that they would gain univerſal credit and approbation, even in theſe days of refinement, did not the cauſe prejudice the Reader

againſt the conſtancy ſhewed in ſuffering for it *. On the ſtrength of theſe reaſons, *the greateſt Scholar, Orator, and Divine of his age* †, has made the following remark; " That if the cauſe, in which this Prelate died, has appeared equivocal to the low views of worldly prudence, it has pleaſed the Wiſdom of the Almighty to declare in its favour by Wonders, which were ſo frequent, and ſo well atteſted, by the unanimous agreement of all Authors of thoſe times, that they cannot be conteſted, without calling in queſtion whatever Hiſtory has tranſmitted to us ‡." A veneration ſo well founded, of ſuch antiquity, and ſo univerſally received did not hinder the Saint's bones from being burnt, and the aſhes ſcattered in the wind: and, as this happened about the ſame time that Sept. 1538. the Iſland of *Rhodes* was taken by the Turks, it gave the CARDINAL an opportunity of contraſting their beheaviour, on this occaſion, with *Henry*'s rapine and impiety. Theſe Conquerors, though under all the prejudices of Mahometan ſuperſtition, had not removed any of the monuments of the Saints, which they found in the Iſland, nor offered the leaſt inſult to them: they had even allowed the Chriſtians to take away ſeveral of theſe venerable remains, and had behaved, through the whole affair, with the greateſt decency and humanity §.

THE CARDINAL has conſidered this Prelate as a *Saint* and a *Martyr*; but the temper of theſe times ſeems to require that ſomething ſhould be ſaid of him as a MEMBER of the COMMUNITY, and one, whoſe high office of Primate, obliged

* *John* of *Saliſbury*, Biſhop of *Chartres*, who attended St. *Thomas* in his exile, and was preſent at his death. *William Fitz Stephens*, who lived with him, and ſaw him expire; and many others, eſpecially *Peter* of *Blois*, in his 75th letter.

† Lord *Bolingbroke* ſays this of *Boſſuet*, Biſhop of *Meaux*.

‡ Hiſt. des Varia. des Egl. Prot. t. 1, liv. 7, § 114.

§ Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 1a. pag. 104.

him

him to be the Guardian of her liberties; the qualities which fill up the meaſures of this character, being, in the eye of an Engliſhman, what makes a Hero, and, which is a ſtill more ſacred name, a Patriot. Of ſixteen Articles, to which *Henry* II. required the Archbiſhop to ſubſcribe, ſix were manifeſtly deſtructive of thoſe immunities, which then made no leſs a part of our Conſtitution, than any others contained in the great Charter; and have, moreover, the diſtinction to be ſet down there at the head of the reſt*. He refuſed to betray this truſt, and ſhewed a fortitude, which, was the chief Magiſtrate of our Metropolis to exert in defence of its liberty, and die in the cauſe, the whole nation would think his memory deſerving of the greateſt honours. The cauſe, however, of the Magiſtrate, in this ſuppoſition, would be as inferior to that in which the Martyr ſuffered, as what concerns a ſingle corporation, to the Rights of a great national Church. If the plunder therefore of his coſtly monument, of which the gold, jewels, and oriental pearls alone filled two Cheſts, which ſix or eight men could do no more than convey out of the Church†, had not been a ſufficient lure to *Henry*'s avarice, the quality of Aſſertor of the rights of the Subject muſt have made him obnoxious to the impotent rage of a lawleſs Tyrant. He obſerved, therefore, a peculiar ſolemnity in wrecking his vengeance on the memory of him, whoſe perſon was removed beyond the reach of his impious attempts. He publiſhed a Proclamation, in which he declared, that having maturely weighed the merits of the cauſe, he had diſcovered that *Thomas Becket* had been killed in endeavouring to obſtruct the execution of the King's orders, and was therefore not a Martyr,

* *Stapleton* de verâ cauſâ Martyris St. *Thom. Cantuar.* pag. 36.

† *Stow*, Annals of *Henry* VIII.

but a Rebel *. But the oppoſition and rebellion with which the Prelate is charged, conſiſted, as we have ſeen, in refuſing to give up thoſe Rights, of which he was the principal Guardian; and ſtanding in the breach againſt an arbitrary power, which would have overturned them. Few perſons, I preſume, will be ſo loſt to all juſtneſs of ſentiment, as to make here any diſtinction between the legal claims of the Clergy and thoſe of the Laity; ſince he, who lays down his life in defence of either, equally aſſerts the common cauſe, and preſents his breaſt to that ſtroke which was aimed at his Country. This truth will receive an additional light, when we reflect, that the immunities in queſtion were granted to the Clergy with a more immediate view to the benefit of the whole people, than of that very Order, on which the privileges were conferred. *Monteſquieu* has ſtated the caſe with equal candour and judgment; and as his authority, when it is in behalf of Eccleſiaſtics, will be eaſily admitted, I ſhall make uſe of it on this occaſion. "I am not prejudiced, ſays he, in favour of Churchmen, but I could wiſh their juriſdiction was well aſcertained. It is now quite out of the queſtion to debate, if there was reaſon for enacting it: but we are to look on it as eſtabliſhed, as making a part of the Laws of our Country, and as having a conſtant relation to them; that the terms of agreement are to be reciprocal between two powers, which are acknowledged to be independent of each other; and that a good Citizen, will be indifferent whether he main-

* The Proclamation is ſet down at length by *T. Stapleton*, D. D. in his account of the Archbiſhop, with a comment on each part of it. It is wrote in latin, of which language he was a great Maſter, and printed in the ſame volume with his Life of Sir *Thomas Moore*.

tains

tains the lawful power of his Prince; or thoſe bounds by which it is circumſcribed. The Power of the Clergy, continues this Writer, is no leſs dangerous to a Common-wealth, than convenient in a Monarchy, eſpecially to thoſe that lean to deſpotiſm. What would have become of *Spain* and *Portugal*, ſince their laws have been no longer in vigour, without this power, which is the only check to arbitrary ſway? This barrier is always uſeful, when others are wanting; for as deſpotiſm cauſes the greateſt ills to human nature, an Evil itſelf which controuls it, becomes a bleſſing*." This reflection ſeems peculiarly adapted to the reign, in which St. *Thomas* lived: the King was of a violent and aſſuming ſpirit, as the whole tenour of his life ſhews: and the Engliſh had every thing to apprehend from the effects of it. This temper hurried him into frequent frenzies, of which Hiſtory has recorded ſtrange inſtances; and the whole Nation, at his acceſſion, was in the utmoſt conſternation, leſt he ſhould avail himſelf of the title of conqueſt, and ſet aſide the Rights of the People, in imitation of the Founder of the Norman line. I make no queſtion, but the noble and ingenious Author, from whom the Public has long expected the Life of this Prince, will do juſtice to a ſubject, which the nature of this work rather allows the Writer here to hint at, than to treat.

WHILST this devaſtation was going on in *England*, and filling the reſt of *Europe* with amazement, the CARDINAL after his return to *Rome*, and the fruitleſs attempt, which has been related, to make up a breach, which *Henry* every day widened, was taken up in the private offices of friendſhip. His firſt care was to ſhew his gra-

* Eſprit des Loix, tom. 1. liv. 2. ch. 4.

titude to the Biſhop and Prince of *Liege* in the manner already ſpoke of. He was, at the ſame time, very ſerviceable to *Albert Pighius*, and ſeveral of his letters to him bear witneſs to his unwearied induſtry in the cauſe of Virtue and Truth, and the encouragement and aſſiſtance he gave to thoſe who were able and willing to promote it. The perſon I am ſpeaking of, who had a great ſhare in his good will, was born at *Campen* in *Over-Yſſel*, a Province of *Holland*. His Father, who was a Gentleman, took great care to give him a learned and virtuous education, which enabled him to become one of the moſt zealous and ſucceſsful oppoſers of the novelties which were introduced in the 16th Century. He had ſent the CARDINAL a copy of two Works: in one of which he refutes *Luther*'s calumnies againſt the approaching general Council; and in another defends the cauſe of the Church againſt what had been publiſhed on that ſubject in *England*. The CARDINAL was highly pleaſed with both, and, encouraged the Author to finiſh a ſtill more important undertaking, in which he aſſerted the *Hierarchy* *. Having, ſoon after, received this performance, he let him know, he would take the firſt opportunity of ſhewing it to the Pope; tho' he had already given his Holineſs an account of the Work, and informed him of the merit and abilities of the Author. He, every where profeſſes the greateſt regard for him, both as a good man and a uſeful Writer; and though the commendations of his *Ligeoiſe* friends confirmed the advantageous opinion he had of him, that he ſtood in need of no foreign motive to love and value a man, whoſe virtue and erudition ſpoke ſo effectually in his own favour. *Sadolet* was

* Aſſertio Hierarchiæ Eccleſiaſticæ.

no leſs taken with the excellence of the latter performance, the various and extenſive knowledge contained in it, and the propriety with which it was ſuited to the unhappineſs of thoſe times*. *Pighius* had complained to his Patron, that others who were leſs deſerving than he thought himſelf, had been highly gratified, whilſt he was overlooked; on which the CARDINAL exhorts him to perſevere in the laudable career he had entered on, and to ſhew his ſincerity in the cauſe of Truth by the diſintereſtedneſs with which he miantained it. At the ſame time he aſſures him, that he and ſeveral other powerful friends would omit nothing to remove the cauſe of this complaint; and ſoon after, the Pope, in conſideration of the ſervices he had done the common cauſe, preſented him with two thouſand ducats, and nominated him Provoſt of St. *John*'s Church in *Utrecht*. One of the CARDINAL's letters to him concludes with this uſeful advice. "As to what concers the Perſon, on whoſe account you were in danger of ſuffering in your reputation; I am no farther intereſted, than that you are now at eaſe. His cauſe, which, in your letters, you take ſo much to heart does not concern me, and therefore, I am not deſirous to be informed of it, eſpecially as it cannot at preſent be defended without cenſuring that Authority which has condemned it. If you aſk my opinion with reſpect to the part you are to act in it, it is; to give yourſelf no further concern, as no ſhare in the blame has fallen on you †." The reputation of this Author has made ſome of the reformers deſirous he

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 2a, pag. 110.
† Ibid. pag. 110, et ſeq.

ſhould ſeem favourable to their party, though his principal Works are writ againſt them *. Their claim iş grounded on a few expreſſion, in which he delivers himſelf on ſome tenets in a different manner from ſeveral Catholic Writers; for which reaſon *Tapper*, who muſt always be named with honour, has reflected on him with great ſeverity.

Camillus Ursini, as this time, was at the head of the *Venetian* Troops in *Dalmacia*; and, by a rare and happy union, joined in his perſon the double character of a great General and a perfect Chriſtian. The eſteem he had of the Engliſh Cardinal cauſed him to lay his mind open to him on ſeveral affairs, in which he conceived the welfare of *Europe* to be intereſted. The chief were the *Ottoman* war, which threatened the ſtate of *Venice* and the reſt of *Italy*: and the concluſion of a peace between the Emperor and the King of *France*. The high reputation he had acquired by his military exploits, his ſkill in the art of Government, and the rank he held in the Republic, allowed him a freedom in writing to the greateſt Potentates, at which nothing leſs than his merit could have hindered them from taking offence. The Cardinal, in his anſwer, lets him know, that, according to his Deſire he had communicated the ſubject of his Diſpatches to the Cardinals *Contareni* and *Caraffa*, before he had mentioned them to the Pope: and, ſo accurate was he, and ſo little ſparing of his trouble, he had cauſed copies of them to be delivered to each of them, that they might at leiſure conſider the contents. He then informs him, that the Pope having appointed them a

* Pontificiorum *Achilles Pighius* adverſus *Lutherum*, qui totus noſter eſt in cauſâ Juſtificationis.

day

day to make their report of theſe matters, they had divided the ſubject between them, and agreed on the part of which each was to ſpeak, that ſo they might avoid confuſion, and omit nothing material in ſuch a multiplicity of Articles, which the Letter, which he calls a treatiſe, contained. Laſtly, he aſſures him, that his Holineſs had heard them with great attention, and ſignified his affection for the Writer, and his ſenſe of the importance of the Diſpatch, and of the judgment with which it was drawn up. The General having likewiſe ſent the CARDINAL a copy of a letter he had writ to the King of *France*, he teſtifies his approbation of it, but inſinuates to him the following caution; "That, in writing to Princes, he ſhould rather have a regard to their diſpoſitions, than to his own: that, they were entirely taken up with views and deſigns altogether worldly, whilſt his mind was fixed on objects of as different a nature as Heaven and Earth. All I can wiſh, ſays he, is, that he may reliſh ſuch pure and ſublime maxims, and act according to them; but I fear they will have no more influence on his mind, than the Sun-beams on the Moon, when the earth interpoſes itſelf between her Orb and the ſource of light. He obſerves, that this caſe is common to all Princes; and though the title of *moſt Chriſtian* ought to make the French King an exception from this too general Rule, yet he would find the ſame character in them all, by whatever appellations they were diſtinguiſhed. That, the jealouſies, the animoſities and wars which then diſturbed the peace of the World, were but too melancholy a proof of this obſervation: from all which the CARDINAL inferred, that could he let himſelf down to offer them nothing more luminous, than ſuch vitiated Organs could ſupport, he would gladly be the bearer

bearer of the letters which conveyed it to them; as he ſhould ſhortly accompany the Pope to *Nice*, where he was to meet the Emperor and the King of *France*, in order to bring them to a peace." This extraordinary Perſonage having ſerved his Country with great glory, choſe, in the decline of life, an honourable retreat at *Ferrara*; that after having lived for others, he might live for himſelf. But, by CARDINAL POLE's, advice, he was called from this retirement, and made Governor General of the Church. He filled the Poſt with a dignity equal to the talents he had ſhewn in more active employments, and afforded a very unuſual ſight of a Layman and a Soldier, who was the directing mind of the Councils of the Pope's Court *.

Kal. *Jan.* 1538. A LETTER which the CARDINAL wrote ſoon after his coming to *Rome*, has ſomething too particular to be here omitted, both as it has a connection with the concerns of the neighbouring Kingdom of *Scotland*, and ſeems almoſt prophetic of the diſaſtrous end, which, eight years after, befell him, to whom it was wrote. *David Beaton* had ſucceeded his Uncle the Chancellor, in the Archbiſhoprick of Saint *Andrews*, and, at *James* the fifth's recommendation, had been lately created Cardinal. He was ſon of Lord *Barflower*, of the ancient family of *Beaton*, and having finiſhed his ſtudies in *France*, was ſent, in the year 1534, Embaſſador to that Court, where he gave ſo much ſatisfaction, that *Francis* I. conferred on him the Biſhoprick of *Mirepoix*. Being returned to his Country, and raiſed to the higheſt Church preferment in it, he ſhewed great ſkill in public affairs,

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 2a. pag. 122, et ſeq.
His life was publiſhed at *Venice*, in 1566, and dedicated to three Noblemen of the *Urſini* family.

and

and the difficult taſk of a tumultuous and unſettled Regency, after the death of *James*. The troubles which the alterations in Religion had then brought into *Scotland*, cauſed him to have *Wizart*, who was the chief kindler of them, condemned to the flames, and he beheld the execution from his Palace. This was a ſeverity which thoſe times could not bear, and with which it were to be wiſhed the lenity of the Goſpel Spirit had cauſed all times and all Countries to have been for ever unacquainted: A few days after, a troop of Aſſaſſins ſeized on him in his Palace, and one *Norman Leſly*, a calm and deliberate Villain, who headed them, turning to his Comrades, told them, the deed they were about, being the work of the Lord, ought not to be performed in a hurry. He then pointed his Sword at the Prelate's breaſt, and exhorting him to repentance for *Wizart*'s murder, but not allowing him leiſure to benefit from his ſermon, he thruſt him through the body. In the letter I have mentioned, which was on *Baton*'s being raiſed to the purple, CARDINAL POLE "had reminded him of the obligation which all, who are adopted into the ſacred College, lie under, of being prepared to lay down their life in the cauſe of truth; that, the very crimſon colour of their dreſs, ſhould other remembrancers be wanting, was ſufficient to awaken in them a ſenſe of this engagement: and if the Prophet's queſtion, *Why is thy garment red?* was put to them; the anſwer ſhould be ready, from their actions rather than their words: and that he made no doubt but this would be the caſe of the new Cardinal *." One of the chief duties of a Paſtor is the care to preſerve his Flock from error and ſeduction, and whoever falls a ſacrifice

* *Keith*, Hiſt. of the Reformat. of *Scotland*: *Hume*'s 1ſt. vol. of the *Tudors*, pag. 298. Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 2a. pag. 117.

to

to a Christian discharge of this duty of our Religion, as the great Author of it assures us, *lays down his life in defence of his Sheep.* It is this kind of vigour and resolution to which the CARDINAL encourages this Prelate: for, as to all sanguinary and compulsive measures either in establishing the Catholic cause, or redressing the injuries done to it, his whole conduct both in the government of *Viterbo*, and, afterwards, when he was Legate in *England*, shews his temper and principles to have been utterly averse to them.

BUT now a conspicuous Scene was opening in *Italy*, at which the English CARDINAL's presence was required, and which gave occasion to a second trial of that patient courage, of which he had given proof in his late Embassy. *Paul* III. had prevailed on the Emperor and King of *France* to come to *Nice*, where he was to meet them. The motives of this Interview have been as variously related, as the Writers who have treated of it, were engaged in different interests, and had different designs in representing it. The Cotemporary Authors, who assisted at it, take it for granted that the Pope's views were to appease the feuds which had long subsisted between these Princes, and unite them in measures, which might put a stop to the changes in Religion, which now, more than ever, threatened *Europe*; and to procure their concurrence in the plan of a general Council, which seemed the only remedy to these evils; and to the happy issue of which their authority must greatly contribute.* Others, who refine on the views of Princes, or interpret them by their own malignity, have described this meeting as contrived by the Pope to get the Dutchy of *Milan* into his own family †.

* *Sadolet*, *Camillus Ursini*, *Contareni*, *Car. Pole*, and even *Aretini* himself.

† *Seckendorf*, Fra. *Paulo Courrayer*.

But

But this imputation is so groundless, that they are the strongest Reasons for asserting, that far from any such mercenary prospect; he left nothing untried in order to gain on the Emperor to make this principality over to the Duke of *Orleans*.*

THE Pope would have CARDINAL POLE assist at this negotiation that he might have the advantage of his counsels, and his Court be honoured by a person whose reputation was very high through all *Europe*: and he knew the satisfaction the Emperor would receive from the sight of a stranger who had shewn such disinterestedness and intrepidity where the honour of his family was concerned. "I remember, says the Writer of his life, *Becatelli*, when the Emperor paid the first visit to the Pope, at a Monastery not far 18th *June*
from *Nice*, and the sacred College came out to 1538.
receive him, he ordered *Granville*, his Minister, to enquire for CARDINAL POLE, as he greatly desired to see him, that he might signify how sensible he was of the obligations he had for his behaviour in the cause of his Aunt, Queen *Catharine*. I accompanied the CARDINAL, says the same Historian, when he went to wait on the Emperor at *Villa Franca*, and saw the distinction with which he received him. There were several who came to pay their Court to his Majesty, whom he dismissed on the CARDINAL's arrival, treated him with the cordiality of a Brother, and discoursed with him a considerable time." At this meeting the Emperor and King of *France* had assured the Pope they would have no further communication with *Henry*, and would employ all their authority to assist a once flourishing Kingdom, which had now no resource but from the good offices of her Allies.

‡ *Pallav*. L. 4. ch. 6.

It was now three years ſince the ſentence of Excommunication had been drawn up by *Paul* III. againſt the King of *England*, for his marriage with *Anne Bullen*, and aſſuming the Supremacy; but it had been ſtill ſuppreſſed, on account of his former merits: from ſome proſpect of his repentance; and by the interpoſition of *Francis* I. who during the greater part of this interval, had intereſted himſelf very warmly in the cauſe of an Ally, of whoſe haughty carriage he now began to be weary, and of whoſe aſſiſtance, being reconciled to the Emperor, he ſtood leſs in need. His late enormities were of ſo deep a dye, that the holy See thought it neceſſary to declare herſelf, by the moſt ſolemn and exemplary proceedings, againſt a guilty and impious Prince. A ſecond ſentence was accordingly drawn up, by which the penalties of the former were renewed; and the freſh crimes enumerated which, at length, had cauſed it to be put in Execution. The Excommunication was publiſhed with the formalities and in the ſtyle uſual on ſuch occaſions. By this the Excommunicated perſon is cut off from the communion of the Faithful, deprived of the participation of the Sacraments, forbid to enter the Church, and join in the exerciſe of any act of religious worſhip: and all Chriſtians are likewiſe prohibited all commerce and communion with him in any of theſe Articles.

Had the ſentence extended no further, and not proceeded to deprive *Henry* of his Kingdom, to abſolve his ſubjects from their allegiance, and exhort every body to riſe up againſt him as the declared enemy of God and Man, its juſtice and validity could never have been called in queſtion: the King having drawn on himſelf the utmoſt rigour which religion, whoſe rights his exceſſes had violated, could inflict. Though a Sovereign, he was liable to thoſe penalties no

leſs

leſs than the meaneſt of his ſubjects; the power of inflicting them having been conferred on the Apoſtles and their Succeſſors, without any exception of perſon. And it is the triumph of Chriſtianity, that one of the greateſt Emperors the World ever obeyed, ſubmitted to the cenſure of the Church, with a docility which would have charmed even in a private character. Nay, it ſeems more than barely probably, that whilſt *Rome* was yet Pagan, one of her Sovereigns, gave the like inſtance of the Goſpel Spirit, which in a Novice in the School of Chriſt, as *Philip* was, is ſtill more admirable, than the example of *Theodoſius*; if what is no more than a compliance with duty, by whoever performed, has any claim to be qualified with that epithet*. Diſcretion, indeed, will very rarely allow of this rigour, with reſpect to Crowned Heads; and, the caſe ſuppoſed, not only the Pope, but the Dioceſan Biſhop has the power to exert it. But then the conſequences are purely ſpiritual, and the Subjects of the excommunicated Prince, under the ſame obligations they before were, as to every inſtance of Loyalty, which is not contrary to the divine Law. This is the plan which the Author of our holy Religion has laid down, whoſe whole conduct manifeſted that he came to reform the vices and errors of Mankind, but left the government of human affairs to human inſtitutions. When, on earth, he refuſed to interfere with the ſettling a private inheritance, though at the requeſt of one of the parties, and left it to the legal proceedings in ſuch caſes: He even rejected the propoſal with a kind of Indignation, as foreign to the purpoſe he came on. Nor do we

* See *Tillemen*'s Hiſtorie des Empereurs, Tome 3. notes ſur *Philippe*, et Tome 5. Hiſtoire de *Theodoſe*, Article 62.

any

any where find, that he declared his Vice-gerents in the *Hierarchy* to be Umpires and Diſpoſers of States and Kingdoms: or that dominion was founded on grace, or that a violation of his law cauſed the offender to forfeit what he held by a civil title, and the public and acknowledged right of mankind. His Apoſtles, and thoſe who came after them, followed the ſame ſcheme, and, every where, inforce the obedience due to Princes, good or bad, Chriſtians or Infidels.

GREGORY VII. was the firſt, who aſſerted a juriſdiction, unknown to the firſt 1000 years of the Chriſtian Æra, and undertook to depoſe a Sovereign: and the Popes who have copied his example, have ſuppoſed its lawfulneſs and begun by facts inſtead of proofs. The maxims, on which this claim ſeemed to be founded, were, indeed, of an earlier date than this Pontiff; and Mankind, in his age were ſo prepoſſeſt in their favour, that thoſe who took the depoſed Emperor's part had nothing to alledge in his behalf; but that a Cowned Head could not be excommunicated. But the Pope had no difficulty to demonſtrate that the Power of looſing and binding was granted to the Church without any ſuch reſtriction. By this new Syſtem the Pope became a kind of univerſal Monarch, ſuperior to all others, even with reſpect to extent of temporal power; for by acknowledging in him a right, however explained, to eſtabliſh and depoſe Princes, we muſt fairly own him to be the only true Monarch; and that the Church, for ſo many centuries, had either overlooked or been ignorant of ſo important a claim. Theſe notions roſe from a want of knowledge or an unwillingneſs to diſtinguiſh between the nature of ſpiritual and temporal juriſdiction; and a ſuppoſition that a power of a higher order neceſſarily took in whatever was inferior, though altogether diſparate.

Henry IVth

Thus

Thus, becauſe the Power of Excommunicating Princes was ſuperior to any earthly claim, they concluded that He, who by way of excellence, is inveſted with it, had likewiſe that of depoſing them. The Schoolmen brought in their auxiliaries, which were ſuited to ſuch a conflict, and by drawing practical inferences from allegory, and employing the form of Syllogiſm, where matter of fact failed them, they impoſed on minds more accuſtomed to ſubtleties, than to real learning and the maxims of all antiquity.

But this opinion is ſo far from making a part of the doctrine of the Catholick Church, that no Profeſſor would be allowed to maintain it in thoſe Countries, which are moſt attached to her communion; and no book ſuffered to appear in public, where it was aſſerted. The Pope, who firſt advanced it, was a perſon of a high ſpirit, and had been brought up in the ſevere diſcipline of a Monaſtic life. He was deſirous to reſcue the Church from thoſe diſorders under which ſhe laboured, when he was raiſed to her government; and to introduce the virtues, of which his own life was a very eminent pattern. This deſign, and the efforts he made towards its accompliſhment, were worthy the chief Biſhop of the Church. But he confounded Spiritual Juriſdiction with Temporal, and attempted on the rights of the latter, which are derived from human inſtitutions, and depend on the laws and conſtitutions of the reſpective ſtates, in which they have force: and his conduct exhibited to *Europe* a dreadful ſcene of bloodſhed, which did but increaſe the Evils he intended to remove, and involved himſelf in endleſs difficulties. He had the mortification to ſee the overthrow, with which he threatened the Emperor, fall on *Rodolphus*, and Victory which he had, with almoſt a prophetic aſſurance, chain- 1070.

ed down to the Camp of his Ally, take her flight to that of his Enemy. The darkneſs of that undiſtinguiſhing age, and the uprightneſs of his own intentions, can hardly excuſe his behaviour in this reſpect: much leſs can it be cited as a rule by which others are to act, or as a ſanction for ſuch proceedings.

The peace lately concluded between the Emperor and the King of *France*, gave the CARDINAL ſuch ſatisfaction, that, writing to *Contareni*, he ſays, he could expreſs his joy by nothing ſo well as the behaviour of a Painter of *Verona*, who, on hearing the news, after every touch of his pencil, took his hand from the canvas, to break out into exclamations, at ſo unexpected, and, at the ſame time, ſo wiſhed for an event. When the conference, at which it was concluded, was ended, he ſpent ſome time at *Trevilla*. It was a Country Seat of his friend *Priuli*; very elegant and worthy its Maſter *, and at ſo convenient a diſtance from *Contareni*, that they often ſaw each other, and paſſed a great part of their time together. His companions in this delightful ſolitude, beſides thoſe of his own family, were *Bonamico* and *Gabrieli*, two celebrated profeſſors of the Univerſity of *Padua*; *Superantius*, *Gualterucci*, and *Rullas*; who are all mentioned with diſtinction in the letters of *Bembo* and *Sadolet*. The employment of their leiſure hours was ſuch as became perſons of their learning, diſpoſition and character: and the CARDINAL particularly mentions St. *Auſtin* and St. *Baſil* as being almoſt always of the company.

HE came to *Rome* about the beginning of *October*, and the Pope judged it proper he ſhould make a journey to *Spain*, in order to confer more particularly with the Emperor, who was then at

* *Bembo*'s letter to *Bruno*, vol. 3, of his Italian letters.

Toledo,

Taledo, concerning the meaſures which had been agreed on at *Nice*: from whence he was to go to the Court of *France*, on the ſame errand. The minutes of his Inſtructions for this Negotiation were theſe. " To lay before his Imperial Majeſty the whole conduct of the King of *England*, in order to prevail on him to uſe his beſt endeavours for bringing back his Kingdom to a worſhip it had been conſtrained to forſake; and putting an end to enormities no leſs deſtructive of Mankind, than hateful to God. He was to repreſent the Pope's proceeding in the late ſentence of Excommunication and Depoſition, as an example which ought to influence other Princes: that the Emperor would find a conformity of ſentiments in the King of *Scotland*, and the new Cardinal *Beaton*, on whoſe ability and credit, in thoſe parts, great ſtreſs might be laid: and, in concluſion, that all further communication with *Henry* ſhould be broke off: and if any other meaſures were requiſite to the end propoſed, they were left to the CARDINAL Legate's diſcretion. He was, likewiſe, to repreſent the league againſt the Turk, which was then much talked of; as unſeaſonable at that juncture, ſince it would greatly divert the attention of the confederate Princes from the more urgent concerns of *England*, and of the general Council, of putting a check to the errors of *Luther*, and ſuch like ſalutary purpoſes. In order to gain this point, he was to inſiſt on the expence of ſuch a league, the time required to form it, and the uncertainty of the event. That ſuppoſing every thing was to anſwer their moſt ſanguine expectations, and victory afforded them leiſure to concert meaſures for the relief of *England* and *Germany*; yet their Enemies would be beforehand with them, and, by the aſſiſtance of Engliſh money, of which there was great plenty; and of Lutheran Soldiers, with whom

Germany abounded, make an irruption into *Italy*, and involve her Provinces in calamities againſt which there would be no defence *."

THESE Inſtructions are penned in a very looſe ſtyle, for which, the importance of the matter conſidered, it may be hard to account; and they have a hoſtile air with reſpect to *Henry*, that it may ſeem extraordinary, the LEGATE ſhould take upon him ſuch a commiſſion. But the relation in which he then ſtood with his Sovereign, clears up, in ſome meaſure, this difficulty. He had been declared a Traitor, for cauſes which, in their nature, do not ſeem to come under the Article of treaſon: he was outlawed, and a reward of 50,000l. ſet on his head; and Ruffians, beſides, had been bribed to murder him. He had the precedent of the Barons, who called over the Dauphin of *France*, to free them from the frantic Tyranny of King *John*: and that, which happened in his own times, of *Henry* VII. who, though an alien to the crown, was choſe by the unanimous conſent of the Nation, to reſcue them from the oppreſſion of *Richard* III. The Evils which oppreſſed his Country with reſpect to property, conſcience, and even life itſelf, perſuaded him of the lawfulneſs of having recourſe to ſimilar means, in order to redreſs wrongs which had no other proſpect of remedy. The undeſerved ruin, in which *Henry*, about this time, involved his family, and the other aggravations, with which his perſonal wrongs were attended: the near alliance he had to the crown, and the obligation which this laid him under, of being particularly vigilant for the welfare of his Country, ſeem to have left him more at large as to the expedients, which were to reſcue it from ſuch oppreſſion.

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 2a. pag. 279, inter Monumenta Præliminaria.

THOUGH

THOUGH it does not belong to this place to determine how far the obligations which bind a Subject to his Prince may be cancelled by ſuch national, as well as perſonal grivances; yet this, I ſuppoſe, may be advanced, that no provocation or circumſtances could have made the LEGATE's proceeding more plauſible. Nor can it be objected, that the negotiation was, in ſome part, grounded on a ſuppoſition that *Henry*, in virtue of the Papal ſentence, had forfeited his right to the Kingdom; ſince whatever the LEGATE's private opinion might have been of the Pope's depoſing power, in general; certain it is, that he never inſtigated the Courts, to which he was ſent, to act in conſequence of it: of the truth of this, as I have elſewhere obſerved, he himſelf, in a moſt formal declaration to *Edward* VI. whoſe Miniſters could not have been ignorant of ſo recent a fact, is a Voucher above exception. He ſeems, indeed, to have fallen into one miſtake, in making an eſtimate of the Emperor's and the French Kings ſentiments by the integrity of his own. They were far from feeling any thing of the Chriſtian and public ſpirit, with which he was animated; but, guided by the moſt profound and incorrigible of all follies, which ſees nothing beyond itſelf, and preſent convenience; the welfare of a neighbouring Kingdom, the rights of Religion and Humanity, and their own engagements were no otherwiſe ſprings of their Councils than they were moved by private intereſt.

As ſoon as the Embaſſy was reſolved on, the LEGATE wrote to *Nicholas Perenot*, Lord of *Granvelle*, to recommend to him the event of it. This Nobleman was prime Miniſter to *Charles* V. and by a rare felicity preſerved his Maſter's favour, during twenty years, and to the end of life. The LEGATE had obſerved, at the conference of *Nice*, the credit he had with the Emperor,

and became, at the ſame time, acquainted with his Son, whom his Father had brought with him to that celebrated interview. His quick parts, and aſpiring genius, drew on him the obſervation of our Countryman, as he ſignifies in his letter to his Father, and made him diſcover in early youth, the future Cardinal *Granvelle*, who, through forty years, was at the head of the Councils of *Charles*, and *Philip* his Son, and one of the ableſt Miniſters and greateſt Men of his age. The CARDINAL mentions this young Noblemen with particular complacence, and ſays, he began to love him as a Brother, not only for his parts and learning, but his piety, and the goodneſs of his diſpoſitions. The latter qualifications here taken notice of, do not ſeem to have been afterwards cultivated with the ſame care as thoſe, in which merit of another ſort is made to conſiſt. In his letter to *Perenot*, the LEGATE entreats him "to lay before his Imperial Majeſty the deplorable ſtate of the Engliſh nation, in which every thing which could deſerve his regard, was concerned: that he had a family intereſt in the welfare of a people, and the dignity of a crown, to which the Princeſs *Mary* was ſo nearly allied. He lets him know, that having been informed of the Scene of Sacrilege, blood, and devaſtation, which now filled the Kingdom, his reſpect for the religion of his Anceſtors, and love for his Country cauſed him to recommend to the Emperor what he had ſaid to him on that head, at *Nice*: and being no ſtranger to that Miniſter's influence, he could not addreſs himſelf, on ſo important a ſubject, to any one ſo properly as to himſelf *." He wrote, likewiſe, to the Emperor's Confeſſor, and to the ſame purpoſe.

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars. 2a., pag. 120, inter Mon. Præ.

The Legate lift *Rome* towards the end of the year, and that his journey might be more ſecret, and his perſon leſs expoſed to danger from *Henry*'s Emiſſaries, it was agreed he ſhould travel in diſguiſe, and with few Attendants, of which number the Writer of his life, as he informs us, was one. At *Bologna* he took up his lodgings at that Gentleman's houſe, and from thence wrote to *Contareni*, that notwithſtanding the intenſe cold, which had covered the Appenines with ſnow, he had performed the journey with chearfulneſs; and, tho' the more diſagreeable part of it ſtill remained, on account of its length and difficulty, and the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, yet, ſays he, *vincit iter durum pietas.* Four days after, being arrived at *Placentia*, he wrote again to his friend, and informed him, that the Legate of thoſe parts had delivered to him the Pope's letters to both the Princes, to whoſe Courts he was going, and had with great humanity provided for the convenience of his journey. Theſe letters were wrote very accurately, and with the Pope's own hand; and the Cardinal ſays, he had expected them with great earneſtneſs, as judging they would be very uſeful both to the public and private buſineſs he was ſent on: This is all we know of them*." Here likewiſe, he was met by his faithful friend, the Biſhop of *Verona*, who had ſhared with him in all the diſappointments of his former Embaſſy, and whoſe converſation greatly relieved the grief, with which the news he then received, oppreſſed him. The Expreſs who brought it, either met him at *Placentia*, or was ſent after him ſoon after he left *Rome*.

30th *Nov.* 1538.

6th *Jan.* 1539.

The late congreſs at *Nice*, and the meaſures there agreed on, had alarmed *Henry*'s ſuſpicions,

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 2a. pag. 142 et ſeq.

and made him reſolve to ſignalize his reſentment on him, to whom he now ſeemed to impute whatever thwarted his inclinations. Had his hatred of the CARDINAL been leſs inveterate than it already was, the violence of his temper, and a long habit of acting only by paſſion, would have armed him with all the terrour he now appeared in. The CARDINAL's perſon being out of his reach, he wrecked the ruin on his family, and on others of the chief nobility, whoſe only crime was their affinity to him. *Henry*, Lord *Montague*, his eldeſt Brother; *Henry Courtenay*, Marquis of *Exeter*, Son to *Catherine*, Daughter of *Edward* IV. Sir *Edward Nevil*, Brother to Lord *Abergavenny*, whoſe Siſter *Jane* was married to Lord *Montague*, Sir *Nicholas Carew*, Knight of the Garter, and Maſter of the horſe: Sir *Jeffery Pole*, another of the CARDINAL's Brothers, were, by the King's orders, apprehended and committed to the Tower. It was alledged againſt Lord *Montague*, the Marquis of *Exeter*, Sir *Edward Nevil*, and Sir *Jeffery Pole*, that they had contrived to advance the CARDINAL to the crown; and againſt Sir *Thomas Carew*, that he was privy to the deſign. They were found guilty and condemned. Sir *Jeffery* obtained his pardon, on giving intelligence, as it was reported, which countenanced the condemnation of the reſt. " The particular offences of theſe very eminent perſons, ſays Lord *Herbert*, are not ſo fully known to me, that I can ſay much of them:" and all the information which this accurate Hiſtorian could gather from our Records, amounts to no more, than " that Sir *Thomas Wriotheſley*, the King's Secretary, who was then at the Court of *Bruſſels*, wrote to Sir *Thomas Wyat*, Embaſſador in *Spain*, " that the accuſations were great, and duly proved: and that

that he had elſewhere read, they had ſent the CARDINAL money*." But, ſure, nothing can form ſo ſlender an appearance of guilt, as that one Miniſter of ſuch a King ſhould write in this manner to another, concerning a tranſaction, on which the leaſt reflection might have coſt the perſon who made it his life: and we have ſeen, in another part of this Work, with what ſhameleſs and abject flattery *Cromwell* wrote to this ſame *Wyat*, of his Maſter's proceedings. Shortly after, the Counteſs of *Saliſbury*, Mother to the CARDINAL; *Gertrude*, Widow to the Marquis of *Exeter*, and her ſon a youth, were condemned, as Accomplices of thoſe who had been put to death: The puniſhment of the Counteſs was put off for two years, and *Gertrude* died a natural death.

THE integrity of the noble Sufferers was ſo unconteſted that the CARDINAL writing afterwards to the Emperor, made no difficulty to aſſert of his Brother the Marquis of *Exeter*, and Sir *Edward Nevil*, "that they were eſteemed by all who knew them, and by the whole Kingdom, as inferior to none in nobility, and to have had few equals in thoſe qualifications which adorn it. "The firſt, ſays he, is above all exception, ſince he who put them to death, had none nearer in blood, after his own Children, than two of them: no one ever queſtioned their duty and allegiance: and their whole conduct was faultleſs, unleſs in too great an obſequiouſneſs to counſels, which were pernicious to the Prince himſelf; though he thought them deficient in this point. He adds, that, beſides the approved tenour of their life in general, there were many preſumptions, of their never having entertained a thought contrary to his dignity. That, in the late tumults, when his declar-

* Life of *Henry* VIII. pag. 439.

ed enemies were numerous, and entirely addicted to their families and intereſt, they had never abſented themſelves from the incloſure of his Palace Walls; whereas, had they been conſcious of having given any ſign of diſaffection, they would, never have remained ſo long at the ſide of ſuch a Tyger; as every one was apprized of his unrelenting cruelty, which left no hope for pardon. That, could the Charge brought againſt them have been made out, and they proved to have taken the ſalutary reſolution of delivering their Country from evils, which juſtify ſuch an enterprize, this muſt have appeared in the Libel which was publiſhed to vindicate the murder of ſome of the nobleſt and beſt men of the Realm. But, having read it very attentively, he could only diſcover, what he had long ſuſpected, the Tyrant's hatred to Virtue and the Nobility. Several other falſehoods, foreign to the Subject, ſays he, are thrown into the performance, and as he propoſed to write a refutation of the whole, and ſet forth the merit of the Sufferers, the illegality of their condemnation, and their tragical and undeſerved end; all he ſhould ſay there for their juſtification, was, that they died on account of their high birth, and becauſe the generoſity of their minds was equal to their deſcent: if theſe had been leſs conſpicuous, they might ſtill have lived *."

22d. *Sept.* SOME months after, having heard of his mother's condemnation, and writing to *Contareni*, he

Bp. *Fiſher*, and Sir *Tho. More.* adds the following obſervation to what I have cited from his Apology to *Charles* V. "The progreſſion, ſays he, of this man of blood is remarkable. He began by the Prieſtly order, and the Magiſtracy, and put to death the moſt eminent and deſerving of each; he, then came to the Nobility, of which he has taken off the flower;

* Apol. ad *Carolum* V. pag. 112. et ſeq.

and,

and, at length, is descended to Women and innocent Children. My Mother is not the only person of her Sex, who now lies under sentence of condemnation: the Wife of the Marquis of *Exeter*, who was beheaded with my Brother, and is a pattern of all Christian accomplishments, and her Son, a youth, are in the same case: And this fatality has always attended his punishments, that they have fallen on those whom he had most reason to love and reward *."

THE Messenger, who as has been related, met the LEGATE at *Placentia*, had left *England*, before his Brother, and the other Nobleman were put to death. The sentence was executed on the 9th of *January*, a day before he had given advice of their condemnation to *Contareni*. The misfortunes of his family did not abate his vigour in pursuing the public good, and he staid but one day at *Placentia*, to recollect his mind from the sadness, with which such unexpected tidings had seized it; and receive, from the Bishop of *Verona*, that comfort, with which, as he expresses himself, the face of a friend never fails to chear our sorrows. He acknowleges, that no visit was ever more seasonable, and that the Prelate, besides other marks of his affection, had given him a large supply towards defraying the expence of hiis journey, and enabling him to perform it with ease †. From *Placentia*, having passed the Alps, and being come into *France*, he took the road of *Carpentras*, that he might see his particular friend, Cardinal *Sadolet*, who was Bishop of the place. This great man was so taken with the steadiness he made appear under his present trials, that, writing to his friends at *Rome*, " The LEGATE, says he, is truly deserving the fortune, to which his high birth en-

* Epist. *R. Poli*, pars. 2a, pag. 197.
† Ibid. pag. 144.

titles

titles him; not that, by which he now is perſecuted: and though it felt a ſingular ſatisfaction at the ſight of a perſon who is dear to me, and whoſe abſence I have often regretted; yet on hearing the diſaſters of his family, which was at the point of deſtruction, and the cruelty of a mercileſs Tyrant, I muſt have ſunk under my grief, had not his virtue and wiſdom, who was the party concerned, ſupported me. He, who in every other circumſtance of life has behaved with ſingular conſtancy and moderation, and reſigned himſelf to the appointments of Heaven, with a readineſs to receive whatever the great Ruler of all things ſhould pleaſe to ordain, diſcourſed on his misfortunes, as if he had no perſonal intereſt in them, and ſeemed only concerned for the public calamity *."

FROM *Carpentras* he ſet out for *Barcelona*, where he arrived about the end of *January*; and, that he might travel with greater expedition, he took with him, only four of his Attendants, and proceeded to *Toledo*, where the Court then was. He was no ſooner arrived here, but he perceived the King of *England* had been beforehand with him: and that this Negotiation would prove as fruitleſs as that he had been ſent on, two years before, to the Netherlands. *Henry* was too well acquainted with the temper of *Charles* and *Francis*, not to know the proſpect of private intereſt would ſoon make them loſe ſight of whatever engagements they had taken at *Nice*, either to each other, or againſt himſelf; and had ordered his Embaſſador to propoſe to the Emperor an offenſive and defenſive league againſt *France*, the common Enemy of both crowns. The Emperor, on his part, little ſatisfied with the peace he had con-

* *Sadoleti* Epiſt. 12. lib. 13; et 12, lib. 14.

cluded

cluded with that Power, or judging of *Francis's* diſpoſitions from his own, foreſaw it would laſt no longer than the convenience which had cemented it: and he reſolved not to alienate the mind of a Prince, who, in caſe of a rupture with his Rival, might be of great uſe to him. He received the LEGATE, therefore, with coldneſs, and ſignified to him, that the preſent juncture was unſeaſonable for the execution of what the Pope required: and, in order to rid himſelf of a perſon, whoſe preſence upbraided him with want of good faith in a matter of high concernment, he adviſed him to go to *France*, and ſound the diſpoſitions of that Court, by which, he ſaid, he would regulate his own. The LEGATE, who ſaw the inſincerity of the propoſal, and that ſuch a journey would only ſtrengthen the alliance between the Courts of *England* and *Spain*, judged it againſt the dignity of his character to be the Dupe of ſuch ſhuffling politics, and expoſe himſelf to certain danger, without any cauſe to juſtify his ſo doing. He reſolved, therefore, to leave the Court; but before his departure, he repreſented to the Emperor, with his uſual freedom, "that though his concern was very great at the thought of the ſmall ſuccour his Country was to expect from his Majeſty, in her day of diſtreſs, yet he was not without great anxiety on the Emperor's own account: that the Annals of Providence were ſtored with inſtances of the Almighty's reſentment againſt ſuch of his Servants as had engaged in league with his Enemies. That, the example of the celebrated *Joſias*, ſtood foremoſt in this liſt, who, though he was dear to his Maker, and had gained many ſignal Victories by his favour, yet having got together a great naval force, and ſeen it deſtroyed againſt all human appearance, a Prophet was ſent to him with this memorable meſſage, *becauſe thou haſt entered into a league with a man who has done*

many

many ungodly actions, therefore has God destroyed thy fleet. That the Emperor might so much more justly dread the like punishment, as he seemed to be the Prince particularly marked out by Heaven to assist *England* in her present exigencies. That, *Henry* had begun these Evils by an action which was highly injurious to his august House; and that the ties of ancient friendship which united him to the Kingdom, now called him forth in her cause *." Some time after, writing to *Contareni*, he thought he discovered this chastisement in the Emperor's defeat in *Africa*, and elsewhere. "If I may speak my mind, says he, though perhaps little heed will be given to what I say, had that Prince, who is so closely pressed by the Turk, rejected the alliance of another declared enemy of his God, he might have found him more propitious in the defence of his Empire." I am very sensible, that the eminent piety of CARDINAL POLE, which caused him to refer every thing to the Supreme Being, and to what might promote his worship amongst men, gave him several sentiments, which will seem singular in an age so little acquainted with his way of thinking: but I should be wanting to the good faith of History, if, on this consideration, I omitted what occurs so often in his life; and be unworthy to transmit his Character to Posterity, could I think it stood in need of any Apology, for what he must have esteemed the most valuable part of it. The defeat which the LEGATE alludes to in the above cited passage, was a great advantage gained by the Turk over the combined naval force of the Christians. It consisted of 200 Gallies, 36 of which had been furnished by the Pope, 82 by the Venetians, and the same number by the Emperor, and were commanded by *Andrew Doria*. A dreadful storm of thunder and lightning scattered this

* *R. Poli*, pars 2a. pag. 198.

Fleet, which, for thoſe times, was formidable, and, night coming on, *Barbaroſſa*, at the head of one hundred and thirty Ottoman Veſſels, compleated the overthrow on the coaſt of *Dalmatia*. 24th *Sept.* 1538.
Some of the Gallies that had eſcaped, appeared again at Sea in a few days, and took *Caſtel-novo*, a ſtrong hold on the ſame Coaſt; but this was, ſoon after, retaken by the Turk; and the Garriſon, which was very numerous, and compoſed of ſome of the braveſt troops in *Europe*, commanded by *Sarmiento*, a Spaniard, all put to the ſword *.

BEFORE the LEGATE left *Toledo*, *Granvelle*, the prime Miniſter let him know, that during the ſhort ſtay he had made there, the Engliſh Embaſſador Sir *Thomas Wyat*, had publickly given out, that if the King his Maſter would cauſe him to be proclaimed a Traitor in all the towns of *England*; and give him, when he was recalled from his Embaſſy, the commiſſion to diſpatch him, with ten thouſand pounds to effect it; he would forfeit his whole eſtate, which was very large, if he did not compaſs his death within ſix months. At the ſame time he ſpoke of *Rome*, and the neighbourhood, as the fitteſt place for ſuch a deed. The LEGATE had then looked on this diſcourſe as the frantic boaſt of a mad young man, with whoſe profligateneſs he was well acquainted: but what followed cauſed him to make ſome reflections on it: for ſoon after, the Embaſſador was recalled; the LEGATE was proclaimed a Traitor with a formality, which, till then, had not been obſerved; *Wyat* was not returned to *England*; and ſeveral months after, it was not known where he was †.

* Lord *Herbert*'s life of *Henry* VIII. pag. 436. Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 2a, pag. 196.
† *Ibid.* pag. 193, 194.

THE

The Legate, on leaving *Toledo* took the ſame road by which he came, and was no ſooner arrived at *Carpentras*, but he ordered *Becatelli*, his Secretary, to give a full account to *Contareni*, who had the Pope's chief confidence, of the reception he had met with. At the ſame time, though he did not think it proper to go to the Court of *France*, as the Inſtructions which he received, on leaving *Rome*, directed; yet, that nothing on his part might be wanting to bring the negociation to a deſirable iſſue, he ſent one of his houſhold, whom he judged beſt qualified for that purpoſe. It was the *Abbe Parpalia*, who is mentioned by *Flaminius*, and was, afterwards, one of the Legate's Aſſociates in the Society of *Viterbo*. He had been with him at *Toledo*; was, as he ſays, perfectly well informed of the nature of the Embaſſy, had long practiſed the Spaniſh and French Courts, and had the buſineſs he was employed in thoroughly at heart. But he likewiſe found this other Mart of Royal alliances foreſtalled by the King of *England* *." *Henry* had already made very preſſing overtures to *Francis* in order to diſunite him from the Emperor: ſoon after, he went ſo far as to ſend the Duke of *Norfolk*, to offer him his aſſiſtance to recover the Dutchy of *Milan*, to remit all the arrears of penſions and ſalt-money, due from that Prince; *and with all induſtry*, as Lord *Herbert* expreſſes himſelf, *to make him jealous of the Emperor's ambition.*† The Abbe, therefore was received with a politeneſs peculiar to that nation, and heard with great attention: a readineſs to come into the meaſures he propoſed, was ſignified in general terms; but the real amount of his journey

* Etenim eodem tempore Anglus utriuſque, et Cæſaris et Galli animum vanis ac fallacibus policitationibus pertentaverat. Vita *Poli*, fol. 16. â tergo.

† Lord *Herbert*, pag. 451.

was

was no more, than to leave behind him the reputation of a fine ſpeaker.* On his return to *Carpentras*, he was diſpatched to *Rome*, to lay before the Pope the whole ſtate of the Embaſſy; and repreſent, amongſt other things, that though the Nuncio at *Toledo* had aſſured his Holineſs, that the LEGATE, at his arrival, ſhould find the Emperor ready to acquit himſelf of his engagements, yet he had ſeen no effect of ſuch a declaration: that his Imperial Majeſty had, on the contrary, excuſed himſelf from complying with them, on account of the affairs he had on his hands, the Ottoman war, and what he had to apprehend from Lutherans; and had inſiſted on being aſſured of the French King's diſpoſition, before he entered on action. He was likewiſe inſtructed to inform the Pope, that if, on the abovementioned declaration, and that which the French Court had made to the ſame purpoſe, he ſtill thought it worth while to renew the negotiation, there would be no occaſion to ſend him again to *Spain*, as the Abbe might very well be entruſted with the whole buſineſs: and when theſe Princes were come to a final and real reſolution, it would be time enough for him, to regulate with them, on the Pope's part, every thing which concerned the Engliſh nation.† "He wrote likewiſe, to *Contareni*, that *Parpalia* would lay before him the account of his expences, which far exceeded his Income: though he had laid out in it all his ſavings; and that his journies from *Italy* to *Spain*, and from thence to *France*, had reduced him very low: but that the importance of the buſineſs, and the need there was of diſpatch, well deſerved all this.

* *Pallav.* l. 4. c. 4.

† Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 2a. pag. 150. et ſeq.

 That,

That, he made no doubt but his Holineſs would vouchſafe to make a ſuitable proviſion for this, and other occurrences which might happen; and that he was well aſſured his friend's favour and credit would not be wanting to him.*" *Contareni*, in his anſwer, informs him, that the Pope was not only entirely ſatisfied with his conduct in the Embaſſy, but had, moreover, ſpoke of his prudence, and preſence of mind, in the moſt honourable terms.

8th *April* 1539.

In this interval the death of the Empreſs *Iſabella* was an incident which gave occaſion to a farther tentative in behalf of the affairs of *England*; and was attended with an inſtance of the vanity of human felicity, which deſerves to be recorded. She died at *Toledo* ſoon after the Legate had left that City; and *Francis Borgia*, eldeſt Son to the Duke of *Gandia*, was appointed by the Emperor to accompany the Corpſe to *Granada*, the burying place of the Catholic Kings. Being about to deliver it to the Clergy of the Cathedral, the leaden Coffin was opened, that the young Nobleman might make oath, as the cuſtom is in ſuch ceremonies, that it was the Corpſe of the Empreſs. But all that remained of ſo lovely a perſon, was a hideous and confuſed maſs of rottenneſs and corruption. Thoſe who were to be Vouchers to a likeneſs, of which there was not the leaſt trace, refuſed to atteſt it; and withdrew at a diſtance, to ſpare themſelves the horror, cauſed by the ſight and ſtench of one who, a few days before, was accounted the moſt beautiful and fortunate Woman of the World. Of all the Attendants, there was not a ſingle perſon, who, on ſuch appearances, durſt affirm on oath, that to be the face, on which they

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 2a. pag. 150. et ſeq.

had

had ſo often gazed with admiration: the Marquis who had the ſteadineſs to conſider it with more attention than the reſt, was not leſs ſtaggered, when he was required to ſwear to the identity of the perſon; and he only depoſed, that the care he had taken to have the Corpſe watched, left him no room to doubt of it being that of the Empreſs. He then compared the attendance which he had lately ſeen about her, the Court himſelf had often paid her, the pomp and magnificence which ſurrounded her perſon, with the condition in which ſhe then was; and this reflection wrought on him a more extraordinary change than what Death had cauſed in the Princes. He took a reſolution of quitting the world and devoting himſelf wholly, to the Service of God, which he executed, afterwards, when he was Duke of *Gandia*, to the wonder and edification of all *Europe* *.

THE Pope, on this occaſion, ſent Cardinal *Alexander Farneſe*, to make his compliments of condolence to the Emperor; with orders to call on the *Engliſh* CARDINAL, as he paſſed through *Carpentras*, and confer with him on a method of bringing that Prince to a more ſatisfactory and explicit declaration with reſpect to *England*. We have four letters of this youthful Stateſman, during the ſhort ſtay he made at *Toledo*; in all which the affairs of the *Engliſh* nation are particularly mentioned. The Emperor declared, he would have no miſunderſtanding with *Henry* till the tranquillity of *Germany* was ſettled; that the King of *France* might act as he thought fit; but as ſoon as *Germany* gave him no farther diſturbance, though that Prince ſhould refuſe to act in conjunction with him, he alone would avenge the injury done to Religion and to his own family: and both the Emperor and his Miniſter *Granville* inſiſted on

* Vie de St. *F. de Borgia*, par. V. J. liv. I.

CARDINAL POLE's going to the Court of *France* *. The reaſon aſſigned was to induce the King to break off all meaſures with *Henry*, but the real motive was to create in him a jealouſy at this journey, and, by this means, unite him more cloſely to the Spaniſh intereſt. The LEGATE, however, that me might remove from himſelf all appearances of having been wanting to the ſucceſs of the negotiation, wrote to the Pope's Embaſſador at *Paris* to know if his preſence at that Court would be of any ſervice to his Country; and the anſwer he received, juſtifies the prudence of the conduct he had already held on that head. It was to the following purpoſe; "that he had not taken upon himſelf to give the LEGATE his opinion on the ſubject of his letter, leſt he might expoſe him to a ſecond journey as fruitleſs as that which he had taken in his way to *Flanders*; but having communicated it to the Miniſter, who had ſpoken to the King, he had returned him this anſwer: that, though his Majeſty's intentions would always be very ſincere, with reſpect to what he had agreed on with the Emperor, whenever that Prince ſhould think proper to fulfil his part of the engagement, yet he did not approve of the LEGATE's journey to *France*, as it would raiſe ſuſpicions in the King of *England*, and render the meaſures they were to enter on, leſs efficacious. The Embaſſador likewiſe lets him know, that as ſoon as he had heard from *Farneſe*, he would bring the affair again on the carpet, and as he ſaw no indication of change of ſentiments in the French Miniſtry, provided they were ſure of the Emperor, he had ſtill hopes the affair would have the deſired Iſſue †."

Paris, 8th *July*.

* Monum. Prælim. Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 2a.
† Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 2a, pag. 164.

IN

In this manner inſincerity was handed about from *Toledo* to *Paris*, and from thence to *Toledo*; the ſole deſign of theſe Courts being to amuſe that of *Rome*, and avail themſelves of her authority. They were conſcious what part became the high rank they held, and the variety of expedients they had to execute it, without coming to declared Hoſtilities: but becauſe it did not coincide with what is termed reaſon of State, it was treated with coldneſs and irreſolution, and, at length laid quite aſide. Theſe diſpoſitions, ſo unworthy thoſe who were wholly guided by them, cauſed the LEGATE to conclude a letter to *Contareni* with the following remark: "That he had learnt from the experience of many years, that no cauſe had a leſs favourable reception with Mankind, than that which properly regarded God and his worſhip; though this was what every one allowed to be the purport of the petition, by which we aſk *that his will may be done*: and this being the caſe, no one could wonder at the Evils which oppreſſed Chriſtianity, and for which he ſaw no other remedy than earneſt ſupplication to the Almighty. That, if after a ſincere change of our own heart, we deſire to bring others over to the ſame rectitude, the attempt, however well grounded, will be to no purpoſe, unleſs their Hearers have a teachable diſpoſition: we were, therefore, to have recourſe to prayer, if we deſired either ſafety to ourſelves, or relief to public calamities: that, our holy Faith, and the writings of able men had already taught us the inſufficency of other remedies: but now we knew it by experience. Let us then, ſays he, firſt uſe this means, in our own behalf; and, afterwards, on that of others. As for myſelf, I am encompaſſed with ſuch a variety of afflictions, that I ſcarcely know how to extri-

cate myſelf*." Theſe were the death of his elder Brother, his Mother's condemnation, and ſeveral more of his friends and Relations, either under ſentence of death, or executed.

THUS ended the ſecond and laſt attempt which the CARDINAL made by the Pope's orders, and at the requeſt of the two moſt powerful Princes in *Europe*, in favour of a Kingdom, in whoſe welfare neither of them intereſted himſelf any further than to make his wealth and power uſeful to his ambition. If the grounds on which he proceeded ſeem to ſlender for any great hopes of ſucceſs, this diſcuſſion belonged to another department. He was only to execute the orders of a higher Power, of whoſe good will to his Country he had no doubt. But it is well worth obſerving, that a Project which had now been twice vainly attempted; or rather, had diſappeared as ſoon as it was concerted; was, a few years after, brought about as ſoon almoſt as propoſed; and the ſame perſon, who, for his attachment to the Religion of his Anceſtors, had, even in foreign realms, been hardly ſafe from the ambuſhes and open violence of his Country, and had been proſcribed and declared a Traitor; was recalled, by the united authority of the Ligiſlature, and the general voice of the People, to reſtore them to that worſhip, which had been his only guilt. The only oppoſition he then found, was from the ſelfiſh views of the ſame Emperor, which had cauſed all the diſappointments I have related; and whoſe behaviour on this occaſion juſtifies *Tertullian*'s expreſſion, where, ſpeaking of the Emperors of his time, he ſays, "they would long ago have embraced Chriſtianity, could they have prevailed on themſelves to comply with its obligations." *Apol.* cap. 21.

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 2a, pag. 149.

BUT

But the Cardinal's concern for the public good was not confined to his Country. The part he took in the general welfare of Mankind, made him intereſt himſelf in that of *Germany*. Several States of that Empire were already bewildered in the maze of novelty, and the reſt ſeemed on the point of loſing themſelves in the ſame labyrinth. At the beginning of this year a Diet had been held at *Frankfort*, in order to ſettle the affairs of Religion; of which the Emperor had been the chief promoter, and at which a great number of Catholics and Lutherans aſſiſted; but without any one on the part of the Pope. It was, moreover, agreed, that his Legates ſhould be excluded from all future meetings of that kind; and all religious matters be carried on under the authority of *Charles* and his Brother *Ferdinand*, who was elected King of the Romans, and be ratified by them. As no proceeding could be more irregular, than that the firſt Biſhop of the Chriſtian World ſhould not be admitted to debates wherein the chief articles of Religion were to be diſcuſſed; and the prerogative of his See be transferred to a Lay Power; the Pope took the juſteſt offence at it; and Cardinal *Alexander* expoſtulated with *Ferdinand*, both by word of mouth and writing, on the ſcandal it had cauſed, and the evil it was likely to produce. He could not be at a loſs to prove the incongruity of ſuch meaſures, and that under the pretext of redreſſing wrongs, they have ever been the occaſion of greater miſchiefs than thoſe they were deſigned to remedy. This truth is ſo obvious, that *Procopius*, a Pagan Writer, obſerves, the meddling in concerns of Religion, to have been one of the capital faults in the character of *Juſtinian* *.

* *Heiſs*, Hiſ. de l'Emp. Annales *Raynaldi*; *Pallavicini* Hiſ. Conc. Trid. l. 4. c. 8. No. 10.

The Preliminaries being agreed on at *Frankfort*, the controverted points were to be diſcuſſed, in the following *October*, in a Diet at *Nuremberg*; and the time drawing near, the Engliſh Cardinal made no ſcruple of writing to *Contareni*, "that though the moſt reſolute oppoſition was to be made to the King of *England*'s innovations, yet He was not the Prince, from whom Religion was likely to receive the deepeſt wounds: and that ſuch a Character as *Cato* deſcribes his to have been, who undertook the ruin of the Commonwealth with thought and ſobriety, was much more to be feared: that, there were now two of this character, and unleſs an obſtacle was put to the private meetings, which were managed by their authority, it required no great degree of ſagacity to foreſee where they would end; and that the Church was in danger of being rent by more grievous diviſions than ſhe had ſuffered for ſome Centuries. That, the Pope's Embaſſador in *Spain* had given him the firſt intelligence of theſe matters, which had ſince been enlarged on by *Farneſe*. He concludes, that the affairs of Religion in *Germany* were in ſo critical a ſituation, that, notwithſtanding his love for *Contareni*, and the inclination he had for privacy, yet his concern for the common cauſe prevailed over other conſiderations, and made him earneſtly deſire that ſo able a Negotiator might be ſent thither *." This deſire of the Cardinal had its effect; for the Diet, after many fruitleſs meetings, at different places, was adjourned to *Ratiſbon*, in 1541, and *Contareni* received, as the Pope's Legate, by the Emperor, who was preſent at the opening of the Aſſembly. The ſucceſs, indeed of this meeting was no better than the former had met with; for the Lutherans inſiſted on changes

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 2a. pag. 158.

and

and abatements in a Religion, which as the ſame *Procopius* obſerves, *on account of the abſolute ſingleneſs of its ſyſtem*, admits of none. However, the irregularity in the form of their proceedings, and the ſcandal cauſed by it, was removed.

ſimplex et abſoluta.

THE CARDINAL having acquitted himſelf of what he owed the Public, ſought in the converſation and friendſhip of *Sadolet* ſome relief in the affliction with which the ſtate of his Country, and the total ruin which threatened his family, oppreſſed him. He lodged in a Convent, near *Carpentras*, and not far from his friend's country houſe; the ſolitude of the place making him prefer it to any other, as moſt ſuited to his preſent ſtate of mind: and as the ſame diſpoſitions always attended him in the ſame circumſtances, the manner of paſſing his time in this retirement, was ſimilar to that, which I have related of his occupations at *Liege*. But as nothing lets us ſo thoroughly into a Character, as ſuch particulars of domeſtic life; and no actions convey more uſeful and practicable inſtruction, than thoſe which flow from a great man, when the eyes of the public are off him, I ſhall ſet down the brief account he gives of himſelf in a letter to *Contareni*. " *Priuli*, ſays he, *Becatelli*, and myſelf, have, for our mutual conſolation, begun a conference on the *Pſalms:* and, to-day, we came to that which begins, *Save me*, *O Lord*, *becauſe the Righteous have failed*; *becauſe Truth has left the Children of Men.* You know what follows: And certainly, whoever has much commerce with them, cannot but feel how neceſſary it is to beg of God, to preſerve them from their treachery; and to acknowledge the favour, when he finds in any one that ſincerity and good faith, which becomes his Servants. I have ſufficiently experienced this almoſt univerſal depravity, not to own the

happineſs

happineſs I enjoy, in the intimacy of a few acquaintance, to whoſe uprightneſs I can now, more than ever before, bear an honourable teſtimony. As to what regards myſelf, I ſhall only ſay, that in all events, I will never ceaſe to praiſe his goodneſs who has hitherto protected me. The many diſappointments I meet with in his cauſe, ſhall never make me diſtruſt ſeeing it, at length, end to his honour. We are to perſuade ourſelves, that all great undertakings, even in the order of Nature, are not brought to ſucceed but through great difficulties; and thoſe enterprizes, by which the ſervice of God is promoted, are, for the moſt part compaſſed by means, which have appeared impoſſible *." If he had been let into the knowledge of what was to happen to himſelf a few years after, in his return to his Country, and the occaſion of it, he would not have expreſſed his foreſight in other terms.

De Subſtructione Eccleſiæ.

THE leiſure he enjoyed here, afforded him an opportunity of reviſing a Work which *Sadolet* had in hand, *on the Reformation of the Church.* It was divided into three parts, of which the Author had gone through two: and being extremely accurate in his compoſitions, he was deſirous that this, which was the moſt important of them all, ſhould be a finiſhed piece; as we ſee by the earneſtneſs with which he recommends the reviſal of it to the moſt eminent and learned of the ſacred College †. The Scope of the Work, as we learn from himſelf, was to prop up the fallen ſtate of Chriſtianity, which now ſeemed to threaten ruin; and eſtabliſh ſuch manners, and ſuch a diſcipline, as might be worthy our holy faith: and in ſeveral places it had a great affinity with

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 2a.

† *Sad.* Epiſt. l. 13. ad *Contarenum, Lauretium, Cervinum.*

Pighius's

Pighius's treatiſe *of the Eccleſiaſtical Hierarchy.* *Sadolet* had not paſſed his laſt judgment on that part of the performance on which he deſired the opinion of his friends, when ſome ill-minded perſons picked out ſeveral paſſages which disjoined from the context, not only miſrepreſented the Author's meaning, but had injured his reputation. Whereupon CARDINAL POLE entreats *Contareni*, who had paſſed no cenſure on thoſe places, to vindicate the honour of ſo great and deſerving a man, from all imputation of having advanced any thing foreign to the received tenets of the Church; and ſtop the mouth of his adverſaries *. This work has never appeared in print; either on account of its not having had the Author's finiſhing hand, or the plainneſs, with which he treated the diſorders of his times, and the remedies he judged proper to be applied to them. *Du Pin* has not ſo much as taken notice of it, in his account of the Writers of the 16th Century; and *Niceron* has fallen into the ſame omiſſion; but *Montfaucon* mentions it, as extant among the *Vatican* Manuſcripts. The fitneſs of the ſubject to the times, to which it was addreſſed; the Author's uncommon ſollicitude that the performance might be equal to the undertaking, and the acknowledged accuracy of his other writings, make the regret for the loſs of this, leſs the effect of curioſity than of reaſon. In Bibl. M. S.

* Interim verò hoc eum meritò dolet (quod certè nobis omnibus non minus moleſtum eſſe debet, pro tanti viri famâ et Collegii conjunctione) quoſdem eſſe inventos, qui ex eodem libro, de quo ipſe nondum judicium firmum ſecerat, quem paucis communicandum, et his ſolis, quorum judicium exquirebat, eſſe voluit, neſcio quæ excerpſere, et in vulgus protulere, quæ nec cum illius ſententiâ, cùm ſcriberet, conveniunt, et huic infamiam apud ignaros rei veritatis inurere poſſent, tanquam noxi et alieni â conſuetâ Eccleſiæ doctrinâ dogmatis uctor eſſe vellet. *R. Poli,* Epiſt. pars 2a. pag. 146.

NOTHING

NOTHING could be more different than this peaceable and rational Induſtry, in promoting the cauſe of truth, with which the CARDINAL and his Friends were taken up; and the boiſterous proceedings by which *Henry* was giving the Nation to underſtand, they had exchanged the ſupremacy of the Biſhop of *Rome*, for the arbitrary will of a capricious and bloody Prince. Three years before the time I am ſpeaking of, he drew up a profeſſion of Faith, in which he eſtabliſhed the Sacrament of *Penitence*, and auricular *Confeſſion*: the real preſence of JESUS CHRIST in the Euchariſt; prayer for the Dead; the invocation of Saints, and the reſpect due to their pictures and images: the Ceremonies uſed in bleſſing water, and the Exorciſms performed in Baptiſm: The cuſtom of receiving Aſhes the beginning of Lent, and of carrying Palm branches on the Sunday that bears that name: The proſtrations made before the Croſs, and the cuſtom of kiſſing it on good Friday, as a ſymbolical language which recalled the memory of God's benefits, and raiſed the mind to ſpiritual and heavenly things. In all this there was nothing but what had been the conſtant doctrine of Antiquity, and was then held and practiſed by the whole Catholic Church: the novelty conſiſted in this, that whereas theſe articles had hitherto reſted on the Goſpel, and the unanimous conſent of Chriſtianity, the King would now have them received by virtue of his new Headſhip; and therefore added a clauſe to which the Chriſtian Church had been yet a ſtranger, by which *the Biſhops were ordered to publiſh them to the People HE had committed to their charge.* The Prelates had been heard on theſe heads, as Judges hear their Council, but the King alone had decided on what was in debate. He now reduced this profeſſion, which was ſomething long,

long, and took in a variety of matter, to the *ſix* following *Articles*, and recommended them by an argument, of which, it muſt be allowed, he was perfectly Maſter. By the firſt, the belief of *Tranſubſtantiation* was enjoined under pain of the ſame forfeitures which are incurred by felony; and, of being burnt to death. This article was inforced by a cruelty of a ſingular kind, and well ſuited to the Lawgiver's temper; for the abjuration of the contrary error could not exempt the delinquent from the puniſhment he was liable to by falling into it. *Communion* in one kind and the *Celibacy* of the Prieſthood were enacted, by the ſecond and third Articles, under pain of death; and by the three others, the perpetual *Obligation* of Vows of Chaſtity, the *Utility* of private Maſſes, and the neceſſity of auricular Confeſſion. Impriſonment, forfeiture, death itſelf, was the puniſhment of thoſe who obſtinately denied any of theſe points, or lived in defiance of them *.

It would have been a ſufficient diſgrace to our Annals, to be ſtained by ſuch inhuman Edicts, had they been the deed only of one frantic Tyrant; but ſuch was the ſlaviſh diſpoſition of the Parliament, that they not only paſſed all this into a Law; but gave up, at the ſame time, all the Civil and Religious Rights of the Nation: and, by one liberal ſurrender, made themſelves of no farther uſe, and ſubverted the Engliſh Conſtitution. Theſe mean Deſerters of their Country's cauſe paſſed an Act, by which the power of the whole Legiſlature was annexed to all Royal Proclamations, which were to have the force of perpetual Laws; and full power given to the King to inflict what puniſhment he thought fit

* Anno 31. *Henry* VIII. c. 14. Lord *Herbert*, pag. 446.

on

on the Tranſgreſſors. But, that the truſt repoſed in them might receive all the proſtitution, to which ſuch ſhameleſs Guardians could expoſe it, they acknowledged, that the Statute here paſſed, conferred no new power on his Majeſty, and was but declarative of a prerogative inherent in the crown, of which the Statute aſcertained the extent; and, by that means, took from ill-minded perſons all pretext of diſobeying the King, *who*, as they take care to inform the Nation, *would bear it full ill* *. A further inſtance of degeneracy was ſtill poſſible, of which I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak afterwards, and the Parliament was unwilling Poſterity ſhould not be informed they had been capable of it: and, accordingly, they attainted a perſon of the firſt quality in *England*, who was within the Realm, without trial, or citing her to appear before them.

THE CARDINAL having made ſome ſtay in the neighbourhood of *Carpentras*, the Pope ſignified to him a deſire of his returning to *Rome*; but the calamities of his family and Country, which ſeem now to have wholly taken up his mind, and ſunk his ſpirits, made him entreat his Holineſs "to ſuffer him to remain in ſolitude, as what alone was decent in his preſent ſituation: that although, in other circumſtances, it would be a ſingular pleaſure to him to pay his reſpects to the Pope, and enjoy the converſation of his Friends; yet as the diſeaſes of the body often hinder the mind in what it is moſt intent on; ſo he now experienced, that a ſick and diſtempered ſtate of mind, deprived him of the contentment he ſhould take in what would otherwiſe be moſt agreeable. That, he hoped to be reviſited by more chearful days; and though his Country lay under every kind of oppreſſion, yet it ſtill

* Anno 31, *Henry* VIII. cap. 8.

made a part of his Saviour's Kingdom, to whom all power in heaven and earth is given: that he ſupported himſelf with the conſciouſneſs of having given no occaſion to theſe diſaſters; of having, to the utmoſt of his power, oppoſed thoſe who were the Authors of them; and having never been wanting in his endeavours to redreſs them *. He reminds *Contareni*, that if it had been always uſual to allow ſome ceſſation from all public buſineſs to thoſe who had loſt either a Parent, a Wife, or a Child; with how much more reaſon might he, who had loſt, almoſt in the ſame inſtant, all who were deareſt to him, either by death or impriſonment, claim this exemption? That the total deſolation of the liberties and religion of his Country, was more ſenſible to him, than any private conſideration; and the leaſt he could do, was too weep in ſecret over her Ruins; and withdraw from the Public, where, as matters now ſtood, he could be of ſervice to no body, and muſt be a burden to himſelf. He alleges the dearneſs of proviſions at *Rome*, and the juſt apprehenſions he was under from the threats of the English Embaſſador at the Court of *Spain*. He tells his friend, he ſuppoſes he has heard of his Mother being ſentenced to death, that is, ſays he, to life eternal; for unleſs he underſtood it in that manner, his own life would be inſupportable to him: and alluding to a paſſage in *Exodus*, that notwithſtanding this firm perſuaſion, he could not bear the light, unleſs he ſheltered himſelf under the Rock, and was hid in the Cavern, whilſt the glory of the Lord paſſed by †."

Sir *Tho. Wyat.*

HE had finiſhed the letter when he received advice from *Contareni* of the death of Cardinal *Campegio*, on whom the King, many years before,

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 2a, Epiſtola 80.
† Ibid. pag. 197.

had

had conferred the Biſhoprick of *Saliſbury*; though ſince his rupture with the See of *Rome*, he had deprived him of the Revenues; and the Pope had thoughts of nominating CARDINAL POLE to it. It had always been his opinion, that after the death of the preſent Incumbent, the Pontiff, notwithſtanding the cuſtom of conferring benefices which are vacated in that Court, ſhould nominate no other perſon to this Biſhoprick; but now the preſent occaſion of its vacancy, and the offer of it made to himſelf, led him into a train of thought, with which the Reader cannot but be entertained. "The reſult, ſays he to his Friend, of my mind on this affair, is, that if *England* recovers its former ſtate, I can never be at a loſs for Church benefices, if I deſire them: but as things now are, I do not ſee what greater emolument I ſhould receive from the Biſhoprick of *Saliſbury*, then that of *Antioch*, were I nominated to it; and if honour only be intended, you muſt be ſenſible how very ſlender this is. As I am no ſtranger to my Countrymen, and to what will chiefly move their ſcorn; I am well aſſured, they will no ſooner have heard of this collation, but it will become the ſubject of univerſal raillery: and it is on this account, that I am extremely deſirous the Public may never be informed of your having any part in this propoſal. What muſt well-diſpoſed perſons in *England*, who are informed of what I have forfeited and refuſed in defence of the Apoſtolic See, think, when they hear that a proviſion is made for me, from a benefice, the profits of which are enjoyed by another? what conſtruction can they put on ſuch proceedings? Thoſe of another turn will have ample matter for mockery, when, after having rejected the fatteſt morſels, like the fleſh pots of *Ægypt*, they ſee me reduced to take up with offals, whilſt they are feaſting on the fat and the marrow. I well remember,

when

when they formerly endeavoured to divert me from leaving their party, no argument was preſſed ſo cloſely as this; they told me, that by ſo doing, I gave up all means of ſubſiſtence; and deſired to be credited on what experience had taught them of the Court of *Rome*. No one was more eloquent in this argument than *Tonſtal* Biſhop of *Durham*, the moſt learned perſon of the nation, and who had the higheſt reputation for virtue, till he deſerted her cauſe; and was, at that time, my deareſt friend. When it was viſible to which ſide I inclined, he wrote to me, by the King's orders, that I was about to quit the high road to preferment, for a by-way of very uncertain iſſue; and that I might give credit to him, who was practiſed in thoſe matters, when he affirmed, my ſimplicity would be impoſed on. The anſwer I made was, that if I acted with integrity, I could not be the loſer; and, if I did not, I deſerved to bear the puniſhment. But if they are apprized of my being named to this Biſhoprick, no ſubject could afford them more matter for ridicule, or be a ſtronger confirmation of their former predictions; and I expect ſhortly to ſee ſomething from the Preſs, on this head, as they have already publiſhed on much more idle ſubjects. If it be replied, that no account is to be made either of what they think or ſay; yet nothing can be reputed a benefit, but what is grateful to him who receives it; and who is ſo well acquainted with my way of thinking on this whole affair as yourſelf? Wherefore, though I cannot but acknowledge the diſtinction with which his Holineſs treats me on this occaſion, yet the favour I now aſk, preferably to all benefices, is to retire for ſome time, till thoſe wounds are healed, which I received by engaging in the public cauſe. If I obtain this, I ſhall have all I can enjoy in my

 preſent

present circumstances: the rest depends on Heaven*."

But though the Cardinal's mind laboured under all the oppression he has described; his grief did not betray him into a behaviour unbecoming the high character for wisdom and steadiness he had hitherto maintained; and his whole carriage was so free from sadness and dejection, that it was a pattern of the contrary virtues to all who were witnesses of it. *Sadolet*, in whose neighbourhood he now lived, has done him justice on this head, in a letter to *Farnese*. "Your intimate Friend Pole, says he, a man of the most unshaken constancy, and whose virtue is of a superior order, and worthy our admiration, is now with me. I have formerly had frequent opportunities of being acquainted with him; but his character never appeared to greater advantage than in his present adverse fortune, and the calamities which have befallen his family. He is therefore held by all here in the highest estimation, and they look on him as one come down to them from a happier state of Beings, or brought back from venerable Antiquity. This opinion is owing to his wisdom, modesty, humanity, and religion; and it greatly redounds to the honour of the holy See, that foreign Countries should behold what sort of men are placed at the helm†."

* Epist. *R. Poli*, pars 2a, Epistola 80 16th *August*, 1539.

† Polus tuus, vir fortissimi animi, virtutisque non eximiæ solùm, verùm etiam admirabilis (quod ipse et aliàs sæpe et nunc cùm maximè, in hac iniquitate fortunæ, acerbisque suorum eventibus declarat) summa mea cum voluptate nunc est *Carpentoracti*. Itaque ab omnibus colitur, et in honore habetur, ut non hominem nostri temporis, sed quasi è cœlo demissum, aut ab antiquitate nobis redditum, videantur intueri. Tantâ est is sapientiâ, modestiâ, humanitate, religione: quod quidem in gloriam vestri nominis cedit, cùm videant hæ nationis cujusmodi vos viros ad Sedis Apostolicæ gubernacula acciendos esse putaveritis. *Jac. Sad.* Epist. lib. 12.

The

THE remonſtrances which the CARDINAL had made, only delayed his journey to *Rome* a few months; for the Pope either deſirous to have ſo able and experienced an Adviſer near his perſon, or becauſe the Emperor had ſignified that, ſince he did not go to the French court, it would be agreeable to him that he ſhould be employed elſewhere, ordered him to ſet out on his return to *Italy* *. He left, therefore, the monaſtery in the neighbourhood of *Carpentras*, about the beginning of *October*, that he might ſpend ſome time with the Biſhop of *Verona*, of whoſe friendſhip he had received ſuch ſignal proofs, and arrive at *Rome* before the end of the year. He informed *Contareni* of this deſign, and concludes with theſe remarkable lines: "I have ſignified to you every thing which can contribute not only to my comfort, but to my ſafety; and you are not ignorant of what moment it is to a mind ruffled like mine, not to lie open to new trials either of grief or fear. I ſhun *Rome* as the place my enemies have pitched on for my ruin: and though under ſuch an apprehenſion I may be ſafe, I can never be ſecure. I might add, that it would be a ſatisfaction to my family, if any of them yet remain, to be informed I had obtained every thing I deſired for the ſafety of my perſon. I could do no leſs than aſk you to impart this to his Holineſs, that I might acquit myſelf of a duty which ſelf-preſervation impoſes on every one, by propoſing what I thought would contribute to it. As to the Ruffian's ſtroke, I ſhall endeavour not to be unprepared for it. My prayers, *Contareni*, are conſtantly offered up for his Holineſs and yourſelf; and will, I hope, be leſs interrupted, when thoſe ties are looſed by which I hold to this life; which, if it be for

* Epiſt. *R. Poli* pars 2ª. pag. 192.

the ſervice of my Maker, cannot happen too ſoon for my deſire *.

Before he ſet out, he received advice from *Farneſe*, that a Gentleman of the Pope's bed-chamber, who was going to *Toledo*, had orders, amongſt other things, to excuſe the backwardneſs he had ſhewn in going to the French Court, on his leaving *Spain*. To which he replied with a freedom becoming a native of *England*, and the conſciouſneſs of his own integrity; "that his conduct, in that reſpect, ſtood in need of no Apology, as he was ſo far from being backward in taking that journey, had it been attended with any proſpect either of public benefit, or of His honour, on whoſe part he was to have gone; that no danger ſhould have hindered him: That, notwithſtanding the inconveniency to which ſuch a ſtep would have expoſed himſelf, and the detriment it muſt have brought on his Country's cauſe and the dignity of the ſee of *Rome*, he had not refuſed the commiſſion, but had waited for ſecond orders from him, whoſe Embaſſador he was, and whoſe commands he was diſpoſed to execute, as ſoon as they were intimated to him†." Having added this in his juſtification to what he had already wrote to *Contareni*, he ſet out with all his Retinue, and amongſt the reſt, *Priuli* and *Becatelli*, the latter of whom was lately recovered of a fever, and had juſt ſtrength enough to begin a journey.

Not far from the great road between *Aix* and *Marſeilles* lies the *Sainte-Beaume*, which has not only been reverenced for ſeveral ages on a religious motive, but celebrated by very eminent Writers, as a ſubject equal to their pen. *Petrarch*, who lived many years in *Provence*, has deſcribed

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars. 2ª. pag. 195.
† *Ibid.* pag. 197.

it

it in verſe. It is a wonderful Cavern formed by Nature in a Rock of incredible height, and ſurrounded with a Scenary ſuited to the purpoſes of ſolitude and Chriſtian ſeverity. An antient tradition has ſuppoſed it to have been the abode of the holy Woman, whoſe penitential tears are recorded in ſuch an honourable detail by St. *Luke*; and that ſhe ch. 7.
was *Mary Magdalene*, and the Siſter of *Martha* and *Lazarus*; though St. *Luke* ſuppreſſes her name, and the other *Evangeliſts* no where give us to underſtand that ſhe was the *Magdalene*, or that *Magdalene* was *Lazarus*'s and *Martha*'s Siſter. The ſame tradition has added, that after our Lord's Aſcenſion, they were all ſhipt off in a ſhattered Veſſel, in hatred to their divine Maſter, whoſe favourite Diſciples they had been, and conducted by Providence to the Coaſt of *Provence*, where the Siſters are ſaid to have paſſed the remainder of their days. The fitneſs of the place for penitential Exerciſes probably gave birth to this opinion. But though the hiſtorical facts on which it is grounded be of very doubtful authority; yet the veneration paid to the memory of an illuſtrious Penitent, on whoſe demonſtrations of love towards his ſacred Perſon, the Son of God ſeems to dwell with complacence, is not leſs commendable; or the prayers offered through her interceſſion, leſs efficacious; or the penitential ſentiments, with which this opinion has inſpired numberleſs perſons, who reſort to the place, either leſs agreeable to the ſupreme Being, or advantageous to themſelves, than if every circumſtance of the Legend was authentic.

The Cardinal, in his return to *Italy*, viſited this Sanctuary, and what happened to him on this occaſion affords an inſtance that the buſy ſcenes of public life are no hindrance to the moſt intimate communications of the divine Spirit, *whoſe converſe*

is with the ſingle minded, in whatever ſtation it is their lot to be. I ſhall therefore, make no difficulty, notwithſtanding the falſe delicacy of a corrupt age, to ſet before the Reader the amiable ſimplicity with which he deſcribes the ſentiments he felt here, in a letter to *Edward* VI. as they greatly corroborate what he declares in ſo many other places, of his diſpoſitions towards *Henry*, even when he ſeemed moſt his Enemy; and of his love and regard for his perſon, though he deteſted his deſtructive proceedings, and endeavoured all he could to put an end to them. "When I approached the Sanctuary, ſays he, in which the remains of the holy Penitent are depoſited, I was ſtruck with a lively remembrance of the King, who though contaminated with every kind of guilt, was yet without remorſe; and this impreſſion cauſed me to ſend up my earneſt ſupplication for him; and to fall into a fit of weeping as ſoon as I entered the Church. My tears continued for ſome miles after I had left the place, and being obſerved by one of my Attendants, with whom I uſed to converſe familiarly, he aſked me the cauſe of them. I not only ſatisfied his curioſity, but likewiſe informed him of what had paſſed in my mind, and the petition I had made to the Father of mercy: that, 'I had repreſented to him the tears I ſhed, as the effects of his goodneſs, and poured out in his cauſe: for had any ſelfiſh conſideration bedewed my face, ſuch drops would have ſued for vengeance rather than mercy; on one from whom I had received ſuch wrongs. But they were tears, of which I had the example in his bleſſed Son, whoſe prayer was heard, as the Apoſtle ſays, for the deference which was due to him, and who being himſelf pure of all guilt, prayed for thoſe who laboured under it: That, under favour of his recommendation, I preſumed to offer up mine to the throne

throne of mercy; and begged, they might, in virtue of thofe fhed by my Redeemer, for his Enemies, obtain a like propitious grace for the King. I often repeated, that it was his mercy alone which had opened thefe fluices of piety and compaffion, and that I hoped he would admit them into his prefence. This was my filent prayer to God, but I felt not the inward comfort I defired, as a pledge of my requeft being granted. I rather feemed to hear a voice which increafed my affliction, and was the fame which faid to the Prophet, who was likewife fupplicating for his Sovereign, *Why doft thou lament a perfon, whom I have caft off?**."

Being arrived at *Verona*, the Cardinal experienced the ufual benevolence and liberality of the Prelate of that City, who, as has been elfewhere feen, to every qualification fuited to his facred character, joined that which renders great wealth ufeful to the real and noble purpofes, which, according to the true meaning of the word, conftitute Magnificence. During his ftay here, he received the following letter from *Ifidore Clario*, who was then a private religious man of St. *Peter*'s Monaftery, in *Modena*, and was afterwards promoted to the Bifhoprick of *Foligno*. "It was no fmall joy to me, my Lord, to hear of your fafe Arrival at *Verona*, after a troublefome and dangerous embaffy; but I was greatly difappointed at your not taking *Modena* in your way, where you would have met with the beft welcome we could give. The favour, I own, was fo far above my deferts, that I had no reafon to expect it, and therefore comfort myfelf tho' it was denied me. I could not, however, on this occafion but call to mind the advantages I had formerly

* Epift. *R. Poli*, pars 4ª. Epift. ad *Edouardum* VI. §. 46.

received from your converſation; and regret the loſs of an opportunity, which perhaps may never be offered again. I find by experience, that nothing affords more aſſiſtance in the difficult paths of life, or more powerfully raiſes our minds above the low joys of the world, than the converſation of the wiſe and good; and the advantage we receive from it is equal, I had almoſt ſaid, ſuperior, to what the beſt books afford*."

THUANUS ſpeaks of this extraordinary perſonage, "as one ſkilled in the learned languages, and not more commendable for his excellence in Chriſtian erudition, than his blameleſs manners, and a ſpirit that breathed nothing but charity and the reformation of the Church: His liberality and gentleneſs to the Poor, joined to the purity of his life, raiſed ſuch an opinion of his ſanctity, that, at his death, nothing could hinder the People from breaking into the chamber where he lay expoſed for forty hours, without any appearance of putrefaction. He died three years before the CARDINAL, on the 28th of *May*, 1555 †."

I SHOULD not have mentioned this Prelate in ſuch a detail, was it not to add another inſtance to the many, which the courſe of this hiſtory has already led me to, of the character of CARDINAL POLE's acquaintance; and of the many excellent perſonages in every kind of merit, with which the Church of *Rome* abounded, in an age, whoſe diſorders in general, were very great; and in that Country and order of men, on which the ſeverity of the cenſure has chiefly fallen. Whereas the character of *Henry* and *Cromwel*, and the reſt of his Inſtruments; and of almoſt all the *German*

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 2ª, pag. 91.
† *Thuan.* lib. 16, ad annum 1555.

Re-

reformers furniſhes the ſtrongeſt proof, that perſons at ſuch variance with one another, and whoſe lives were ſo remarkably faulty, were never deſigned by the Source of truth and holineſs to enlighten and reform Mankind.

On the Cardinal's coming to *Rome*, he found that his Work *On the Church's Unity*, which was one continued diſcourſe, had been divided into four parts, and printed in his abſence, and without his knowledge. The treatiſe, as has been ſaid, was originally deſigned for the King of *England* alone, without any view of making it public, yet, as the impreſſion had been taken off by the Pope's orders, all he could obtain was, that the copies might be in his own keeping, till he had wrote a Preface, which was much deſired.—He had already begun, in a diſcourſe addreſſed to the Emperor, a brief recapitulation of *Henry*'s life; which he now judged would ſerve that purpoſe, and be the beſt Apology for thoſe paſſages where the King is treated with great freedom. But though this work was far advanced, he deferred, ſome years, putting the finiſhing hand to it, which, in ſome places, it ſtill ſeems to have never had. His reaſon for proceeding with this ſlowneſs, as he informs *Edward* VI. was a regard for the King his Father's character, having obtained a delay of the publication of the Work, till the Treatiſe, which was to be prefixed to it, was finiſhed *."—The facts it contains come down no lower than the preſent year 1539, and I have had frequent occaſion to refer to it in the courſe of this hiſtory.

The method he obſerves in this *Preface*, which is one of the moſt animated pieces that has appeared in any language, is, firſt, to relate

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 4ª. Epiſt. ad *Edouardum* VI. §. 48.

the

the ſubſtance of the facts, which had hitherto diſgraced *Henry*'s reign; and, then, to conſider them in every light which can ſet off their deformity; and deſcribe, if poſſible, a ſcene of tyranny, rapine, bloodſhed, and ſacrilege, by which the years, the months, and almoſt the days of thoſe annals, are blackened with a ſtrength of ſentiment and diction equal to ſuch horrors. He omits no circumſtance, no reflection, which can add life to the narrative; and draw, as he ſays, a repreſentation of thoſe Regions of Woe, where nought is heard or ſeen but wailing and gnaſhing of teeth, and the appearance of tormenting fiends. When he wrote the work, he was at an age when genius is in its full vigour; and the facts, which he relates, were recent. The moſt diſtant were in every one's memory, and moſt of them were daily tranſacted under their obſervation. The CARDINAL himſelf had been a Spectator of ſeveral, and was informed of the reſt by witneſſes above all exception, and the univerſal voice of *Europe*. Thus the whole narrative comes to us recommended by every teſt of credibility; and the different ſentiments of indignation and pity, which ſuch a variety of wickedneſs and miſery raiſed in the Relater's mind, equally affect the Reader. At the ſame time, He has been no leſs juſt to laudable part of this Prince's character, in the firſt years of his reign; and dwells with complacence, not only on what he had done, that was praiſe-worthy; but on the expectations he had raiſed of his riper age; and laments with expreſſions, to which nothing but ſincerity could have given utterance, the fall of a King he loved and honoured; and for whoſe welfare, even in the midſt of his diſorders, there was nothing he was not diſpoſed to undertake or ſuffer.

I SHALL conclude this period of CARDINAL POLE's hiſtory, by a brief account of *Bembo*, who was, this year, raiſed to the purple. The early diſcovery he made, at the Univerſity of *Padua*, and of our Countryman's genius; and the invariable eſteem with which he ever after honoured his virtues, deſerve this acknowledgment from the Writer of His life, who received theſe marks of diſtinction from this elegant Judge of merit. The CARDINAL begins the letter he wrote to him on his promotion, "by aſſuring his Friend of the ſatisfaction he felt in congratulating him on the ſame occaſion, on which, ſome years before, he had received from him a like inſtance of friendſhip. He obſerves, that to the civilities uſual on ſuch occaſions, *Bembo* had added an advice, for which he was greatly beholden to him, of behaving himſelf in ſuch a manner as to appear deſerving of a dignity, which required no ſmall ſtock of Virtue: and tho' he had done no more than juſt hinted the counſel, yet it had made a laſting impreſſion. That, for his own part, though he felt a joy on *Bembo*'s promotion, equal to what He had expreſſed in his own regard, yet he could only ſignify it by a ſincere congratulation; as his diſparity in age, and all other qualifications, would make every thing beyond that, improper: all, therefore, he ſhould mention on that head, was the proſpect he now had of ſeeing before his eyes a model of thoſe qualities, by which the poſt of honour, in which they were both placed, was chiefly maintained*."

* Hoc tamen, quia ad fructum hujus gaudii maximè pertinet, adſcribere, ut ſpero, non dedecebit, me maximè abs te expectare, ut exemplar ante oculos ejus virtutis habeam, quâ maximè conſervatur hæc dignitas, ad quam tu me verbis pauló antè incitaſti. Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 2a, pag. 204.

BEMBO,

Bembo, in his reply, having thanked the Cardinal for the part he took in his promotion, ſays, "his high birth, and his inclinations not inferior to ſuch an extraction, had been the firſt motive of his regard for him: but that this had been improved by long acquaintance, and a ſimilitude of thoſe ſtudies, in which they were both engaged: that, he had conſidered, with infinite pleaſure, *Pole*'s inclination to the fine arts, and the progreſs he made in them; and that, henceforward, he ſhould not only be a diſtant admirer, but an eye-witneſs of his rare accompliſhments, and an Aſſociate in the ſame counſels. He profeſſes a love for him, in which he can be rivalled by none but *Sadolet:* and teſtifies his joy that the hazards and fatigues of the late negotiation had been compenſated by the ſociety of that learned and valuable man *."

This eminent and amiable perſon of whom mention has been made in the former parts of of this Hiſtory, was a Native of *Venice*; which, at that time, was the Seat of freedom, genius and valour. His family had given the State great Captains, and excellent Magiſtrates; and his Father being ſent Embaſſador to *Florence*, he accompanied him, and there formed his Style to that delicacy in the Tuſcan language, which is ſo much admired in his writings. Not ſatisfied with poſſeſſing the beauties of this and the Latin tongue, he took a journey into *Sicily*, to ſtudy the Greek, under *Laſcaras*, a celebrated Profeſſor, and a native of *Greece*. He then heard a courſe of Philoſophy from *Leonico*, and diſcovered a wonderful aptitude to every kind of polite literature. His Italian verſes were read in all polite aſſemblies of that knowing age and Country: the freedom of ſome of them may, perhaps,

* *P. Bembi* Epiſt. ad Card. *Polum*.

be

be excused, but others are very licentious. A passion he entertained for a young lady of *Venice*, threw him into disorders, for which the latter part of his life atoned. He had two Sons by her, and a Daughter named *Helen*, who was married to a Venetian Nobleman, and had every commendation, but legitimacy of birth. This attachment, and his love of Study caused him to reject the sollicitations by which his Family pressed him to marry; and the employments, which were offered him by the Senate: but *Leo* X. being raised to the Papacy, he drew *Bembo* from his retirement, and made him Secretary of State. By this means he was immersed in business, to which he had hitherto been very averse; and as he acted on a principle of honour, his assiduity in the office, of which the volumes of elegant letters he left behind him are proof, impaired his health, and obliged him to have recourse to the air of *Padua*, where he became acquainted with our Countryman. After *Leo*'s death, he retired to *Venice*, and divided his time between books and the conversation of the learned, till the year I am 1539
speaking of; when *Paul* III. created him Cardinal. This promotion, of which he had not the least thought, so greatly surprized him, that he was on the point of refusing it; but going to Church, the morning after he had received the news, in order to ask a superior direction in the step he was to take; as he approached the Altar, the Priest being come to those words of JESUS CHRIST to St. *Peter*, which name *Bembo* bore, *Peter follow me*, he took them as addressed to himself, and no longer opposed a dignity, which he had not sought, and now interpreted it was the will of heaven he should accept. Soon after, writing to one of his friends, " I shall be ordained Priest, says he, in the Holidays of Christmas, and then prepare myself to celebrate the divine

divine Myſteries: admire the change which the divine goodneſs has wrought in me."

BEING now become a reſident of *Rome*, "he was honoured, by all perſons of the higheſt diſtinction, in that City; and particularly, ſays the Author of his life, who was acquainted with them both, by REGINALD POLE a perſon brought to us, by Providence, from ſo diſtant a Country as *Britain*; or rather, if the expreſſion be not too bold, deſcended to us from the Regions above: and though no commendation can equal the ſubject when he is the theme, I ſhall take a more ſuitable opportunity of doing his merit all the juſtice I am able. At preſent, I ſhall only ſay, that it is doubtful, if that Iſland, by having the advantage of giving birth to ſuch a perſon, who ſet us a pattern of genuine Chriſtian piety, has not compenſated the great wrongs ſhe has done to that cauſe. He lived with *Bembo*, who was now far advanced in years, in the greateſt intimacy, and had the higheſt value for his many and excellent qualities, and chiefly for a candour and openneſs of temper, which gave him back the likeneſs of his own diſpoſitions*." The Pope conferred the Biſhoprick of *Eugubio*, on the new Cardinal, and, afterwards,

* Cultus eſt *Romæ Bembus* cùm à bonis pleriſque omnibus *Contareno*, *Sadeleto*, *Corteſio*, *Morono*, Cardinalibus ampliſſimis, hominibuſq; eruditiſſimis; tum verò præcipuè à REGINALDO POLO, homine, Dei immortalis, dubio procul, beneficio, ex ultimâ uſque *Britanniâ* ad nos vecto, vel de cœlo potius, ſi modo dictu fas eſt, lapſo; cujus de laudibus, quanquam de tam præclara ac divina virtute nemo ſatis dignè unquam loquetur, aliàs mihi profectò dicendi locus dabitur. Hoc certè haud facilè in præſentia dijudicare audeam; pluſne eam inſulam, multis vulneribus Chriſtianæ Reipublicæ per ſummam impietatem infligendis, nocuiſſe dicam; an quòd in illo ſolo talis tantuſque vir ortus et procreatus ſit: unde veræ planeque Chriſtianæ pietatis vitæque exemplum peteremus, profuiſſe. Is igitur cum *Bembo* familiariſſimè vixit; cùmque ſenis optimi multas magnaſque animi dotes maximè fecit; tum vero apertum

wards, that of *Bergamo*; both which he adminiſtered with an irreproachable life, and the diſcharge of ſuch duties as thoſe take on them, who beſides the care of themſelves, engage in that of others. He ſurvived his promotion to the purple eight years; and died of a hurt he received on horſeback, in the ſixty-eighth year of his age. As he was drawing towards his end, ſome of his family who were acquainted with the intimacy there had always been between him and CARDINAL POLE, informed the latter of the dangerous ſtate his friend was in, and deſired him to be preſent in his laſt minutes. He immediately complied with their requeſt, and had the ſatisfaction, as he ſays, of finding him in thoſe diſpoſitions with which the ſpirit of Chriſtianity ſooths the terrors of the paſſage from time to eternity, and makes us die the death of the Righteous*. He was buried at *Rome*, in the Choir of the Church of the *Minerva*; his Son *Torquato* having compoſed that honourable inſcription, which ſtill remains. *Jerome Quirini*, a Noble Venetian, who had loved and honoured him through life, erected to his memory, in St. *Anthony*'s Church at *Padua*, a marble Statue, in which, as the Curious obſerve, all the exquiſiteneſs of Sculpture is exhauſted: And, that none of thoſe diſtinctions, which light up the Urn of the illuſtrious Dead, and wait on their name beyond the grave, might be wanting to grace *Bembo*'s merit, his life has been wrote by the

tum ſimplexque hominis ingenium ſuæ ipſius voluntati atque naturæ conſimile ac par, plurimùm ſemper adamavit. *Caſa* in Vitâ *Bembi*.

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 4 a, pag. 206.

moſt

Casa. most correct genius of an age which was fruitful in great Originals *.

* Neque immerito commendati sunt, aut is qui pauca quidem scripsit, sed inscribendo omnium politissimus, maximeque limatus, idemq; ab omnibus ineptiis remotissimus fuit. *J. Casa. Muretus.*

SECT.

SECT V.

His Behaviour in the Government of Viterbo. *And, On his Mother being put to Death.*

THE CARDINAL at his coming to *Rome*, was met by *Contareni*, and his other friends, and welcomed with every demonſtration of joy and reſpect, by all perſons of rank and merit in that City. Soon after the Pope appointed him a body guard, as a ſecurity againſt any attempts on his life, by the Emiſſaries of the King of *England:* nor was it long before the event ſhewed the expediency of the precaution. During the ſhort ſtay he made at *Verona*, he had ſignified to *Sadolet*, in the moſt obliging and affectionate terms, the ſenſe he had of his obligations to him, whilſt he was under his roof, and in his neighbourhood at *Carpentras:* and particularly, of the tears he ſhed at their parting. Being now arrived at *Rome*, he received an anſwer from this polite Prelate, which is penned with a goodneſs of diſpoſition, and a dignity peculiar to the Writer. Having ſaid all that friendſhip can feel, and elegance expreſs on the merit of a great man, he recommends to him the cauſe of the Chriſtians, who were debtors to the Jews, and very numerous, and greatly oppreſſed by the uſury of their Creditors. He had made their caſe kdown to the CARDINAL, whilſt he reſided in thoſe parts, and found no difficulty to engage his good offices for their relief; as the Court of *Rome*, which was to interpoſe in the affair, ſeems not to have applied ſo ſpeedy and efficacious a remedy, as the equity of the caſe, and the greatneſs of the evil called for, and *Sadolet* deſired. The CARDINAL

being on the ſpot, where the grievance was to be redreſſed, let his Friend know, he hoped his Agents at *Rome* had informed him, that proper orders had been given to eaſe his Dioceſans of the extortion they laboured under, and repreſs, for the future, the inſatiable avarice of their Oppreſſors*.

THE opinion of his parts and credit, and his readineſs to exert both in the ſervice of his Friends and the Public, afforded him, ſoon after the time I am ſpeaking of, an opportunity of deſerving well of one, who ſeems to have held the higheſt rank in his eſteem, and in a cauſe, which, of all others, he had moſt at heart: I mean, the checking the increaſe of vice and error, and reclaiming thoſe who were engaged in either. The Pope had appointed *Contareni* his Legate at the Diet of *Ratiſbon*, which was to be promiſcuouſly compoſed of Catholics and Lutherans, in order to put an end to the religious diſſentions, which, every day, ſpread wider in *Germany*, and threatened the Empire with the moſt fatal conſequences. Tho' the Legate's character for wiſdom, temper, and learning, was inferior to none of the age in which he lived, and his years gave him a great ſuperiority over CARDINAL POLE, yet he referred all the ſteps he took in this nice negotiation, to his advice, and in the many letters on this head, which are come down to us, opens himſelf to him in as full and unreſerved a manner, as if he had been accountable for his conduct to no one elſe. I ſhall extract from them what may contribute to make our Countryman known with greater diſtinction, the reſt being foreign to the purpoſe of this Hiſtory.

CONTARENI, on his arrival at *Ratiſbon*, was received by the Emperor, and thoſe who com-

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 3ª, pag. 8, et pag. 69.

poſed

posed the Assembly, with great honours; but he found there none of the Princes of the Empire. They proceeded so slowly in this important concern, that, two months after, the Elector of *Metz*, and the Landgrave of *Hesse*, were the only Persons of that rank, who came: the others, that they might cause no further delay to his Imperial Majesty, in the measures he should think expedient on that occasion, sent their Ambassadors. On this, the Diet was opened by a solemn Mass; and one of the Court having spoke briefly in the Emperor's name, his Majesty's intentions were notified in writing to the following purpose. The Assembly was informed of whatever he had done, since their last meeting at the same place: that the motive of his present journey was to restore that tranquillity to *Germany*, which the differences in Religion had disturbed; and to provide against a Turkish invasion, which there were but too just reasons to apprehend. He desired the Princes to deliberate on both these Articles, and let him know their resolution: he seemed willing that the conferences on Religion should continue, but be carried on by fewer persons, and the result of them be notified to the States of the Empire, to his Majesty, and to the Legate; that they might determine what was to be done. *Contareni* finishes what regards the public affairs by entreating his friend to recommend some of his domestic concerns to the Pope; and, among others, the advancing him two months appointments, as his private fortune was by no means equal to the charge of the Embassy. The CARDINAL, in his reply, acquaints the Legate, "he had obtained every thing he desired him to ask of his Holiness; but informs him also, that his own stay in *Rome* was not only become troublesome, but unsafe, as the City swarmed with Soldiers, on account of *Ascanio Columna*'s having

taken up arms againſt the Pope: and there were ſeveral Engliſh in town, whoſe looks did not ſpeak in their favour, and whoſe appearance, at that juncture, was liable to ſuſpicion." Yet, notwithſtanding any conſideration which might touch himſelf, he did not ſet out till he had done his friend all the ſervice he could; and as for what might hereafter occur, the Legate had too many attached to his intereſts, to make his ſtay any longer neceſſary. The letter is dated from

22d *April*, 1541.

Capranica, where he was retired; which is a ſmall town in the Province of the Patrimony, in a very agreeable ſituation, between the Lakes of *Braciano*, and *Ronciglione*. He obſerves, at the

Locus Caprarum.

bottom of the letter, that this place had been mentioned by *Petrarch*, under another name; and though the variation be very immaterial, he ſeems to remark it with pleaſure, as it reminded him of the elegant Writer, who made uſe of it.

The Cardinal had adviſed *Contareni*, to reduce all the Articles, on which the Catholic and Lutheran Divines were at variance, to the ſole queſtion of Juſtification; as the chief errors of the latter were owing to this point not being rightly underſtood, and as the practical inferences with which their writers were but too juſtly charged, and which were ſo injurious to the ſanctity and goodneſs of God, and the morals of Mankind, were no more than the neceſſary conſequences of ſuch tenets. The Legate lets him know, he had paid this deference to his opinion; and having given him an account of what had been agreed, by both parties, on this capital Controverſy, deſires him to keep it ſecret. He aſſigns no reaſon for this requeſt: but the Cardinal, in his anſwer, tells him, he very well ſaw what his motive was; and was ſorry the condition of the times laid him under this hard neceſſity: that the debate in agitation was of the nature of thoſe, of which the divine Author of our Religion

ſays,

ſays, "what is whiſpered to you in the ear, proclaim on the houſe-top;" but that he ſhould behave as he directed him.

THE reaſon of the Legate's deſire ſeems to have been the method he had taken to remove, as much as was conſiſtent with the integrity of the Chriſtian doctrine, all the prejudices which had been conceived againſt this point of it: and had, therefore expreſſed himſelf on the ſubject of Juſtification, and the ſeveral tenets which are connected with it, in a different manner from ſome Writers of great note. He himſelf makes no difficulty in owning, that he diſſented from Saint *Auſtin*, in his opinion of Predeſtination; in which he took no greater liberty that *Sadolet*, who declares, that on the ſame ſubjects of grace and free will, he rather leaned to what the Greek Fathers, St. *Chryſoſtom*, St. *Baſil*, and *Theophilactus*, and St. *Ambroſe* among the Latin, than to what St. *Auſtin* had delivered*. The Catholic Church having never cenſured this difference of opinions, not only private Doctors, but whole Schools have thought themſelves at large to explain the agreement of predeſtination with the freedom of human choice, and God's gratuitous election with the neceſſity of good works. Yet, on ſo ſlender an encouragement, ſome Lutheran Writers have vainly flattered themſelves, that *Contareni* was an Abettor of their principles; and that our Countryman, who every where profeſſes an entire acquieſcence in his doctrine, was a Con-

* Sunt enim in eo ipſo, de quo loquimur, doctiſſimo nimirum ſanctiſſimoque Doctore, prorſus manifeſta; qui in illam extremam et remotiſſimam ſententiam ſe contulit, odio Hæreticorum, et contentio nediſputandi ut ego quidem arbitror, magis quàm conſideratâ et quietâ ratiocinatione adductus. Nec tamen ſi non conſentio cum *Auguſtino*, idcirco ab Eccleſiâ Catholicâ diſſentio: quæ tribus tantùm *Pelagii* capitibus improbatis, cætera libera ingeniis et diſputationibus reliquit. *Sad.* ad *Contar.* lib. 9. Epiſt. pag. 338. edit. *Ludg.*

vert to the ſame Syſtem; though it could not be more openly attacked than by what each of theſe great men has delivered on this head. The firſt lays it down as a truth not to be conteſted, that the Reprobate are caſt off, only for actual faults which they commit by reſiſting the gracious overtures of the divine mercy; and that it depends on the free determination of our will to overcome this reluctance.—That, though our Predeſtination is to be attributed to God, whoſe Grace prevents all efforts on our part, yet it ſuppoſes our concurrence.—He anſwers the trite and impious objection, "If I am of the number of the Predeſtinate, I ſhall be ſaved; let my life be ever ſo irregular: if, on the contrary, I am doomed to Reprobation, notwithſtanding all my endeavours, I ſhall be damned;" by ſhewing how weak this way of reaſoning would be with reſpect to all the caſual events of life, which are no leſs foreſeen by an all-knowing Being, than the alternative of our eternal lot.—He, afterwards, proves that Predeſtination and Reprobation are not the neceſſary cauſe either of our being ſaved or damned; and though God has known, from all eternity, the different lot of each Individual, this knowledge neither deſtroys the contingency of events, nor the liberty of our will; and that no one can doubt, but, if he lives well, he ſhall be ſaved; if ill, condemned.—Thus, as the errors of *Janſenius* are ſaid to have found a Grave prepared for them in the writings of *Sadolet*, it may be added, that *Luther*'s have met with the ſame fate in thoſe of *Contareni* and POLE.

THE treatiſe which the former wrote on Juſtification, was printed with his other Works at *Paris*, in the year 1571, and had been received with the approbation of all intelligent perſons, when a Dominican Inquiſitor, eighteen years after, took it in his head to mangle, in a *Venice* edition,

by

by interpolations, and, what he calls, amendments, the Work of a Man as much his ſuperior in learning as in modeſty. In this he has rendered the Public a ſervice of the ſame kind with that of a Monkiſh Writer, ſome centuries before, who fancying nothing was wanting to make the *Æneid* a perfect Poem, but the gracefulneſs of Rhimes, very obligingly ſubſtituted his own jingle to *Virgil*'s harmony. CARDINAL POLE, who was remarkably converſant in all *Contareni*'s writings, on this ſubject, ſpeaks of them in terms which muſt carry the greateſt weight, as being the judgment of ſo unexceptionable a Maſter of the whole extent of the Controverſy, that he is ſuppoſed to have drawn up what the Council of *Trent* has defined concerning it: the Draught being found, as ſhall be ſeen hereafter, among his other Papers, and publiſhed at *Louvain*, by *Henry Pening*, one of the principal Officers of his Houſhold, and who, to his long and faithful ſervices, added this further inſtance of attachment to his Lord, by preſerving the document of one of thoſe tranſactions, which reflect the higheſt honour on his memory.

THE Legate's behaviour at the Diet had been cenſured, as if he had made larger conceſſions to the Lutherans than was conſiſtent with the faith and diſcipline of the Church; and ſome ſevere reflections had paſſed on him in the Conſiſtory, where the affair was debated. It had even been inſinuated that the Engliſh CARDINAL was retired to *Capranica*, to avoid having a ſhare in the difficulties in which he foreſaw his friend would ſoon be embroiled. On this report he wrote to the Legate, that if the ſtorm had not been laid almoſt as ſoon as it was raiſed, he would have returned to *Rome* with the utmoſt expedition: but as it was then over, he thought it more prudent not to ſtir it up again; eſpecially as the Legate himſelf, when he

came from the Diet, could not fail to give an accurate and ſatiſfactory account of an affair, in which his reputation was ſo nearly concerned, and which took in the ſubſtance of his whole commiſſion. The event ſhewed he was not miſtaken; for though theſe conferences ended as all ſuch meetings ever have, where thoſe who ſtand moſt in need of entering on a ſearch of truth, are leaſt diſpoſed to it; yet on the Emperor's putting an end to the Diet, and *Contareni*'s return to *Rome*, the Pope, inſtead of withdrawing the long and uninterrupted confidence he had placed in him, conferred on him the government of *Bologna*; and thus diſappointed that ill will, by which Envy ſeldom fails to mark out ſuperior merit. He enjoyed this dignity but a ſhort time, and died happy in the mutual and deſerved eſteem of CARDINAL POLE, and in ſuch a diſcharge of the public ſtation he was in, as, by making the people happy, makes the Governor truly great*.

28th *July*, 1541.

1ſt *September*, 1542, aged 59.

WHILST the CARDINAL received the inſtances of eſteem, which I have related, from one of the moſt illuſtrious members of the ſacred College, the braveſt Prince in *Europe*, and who, from the encouragement he gave to letters, was ſtiled the Father of them, treated him with a diſtinction, which does equal honour to both.--*Francis* I. who had

* This excellent man has left the following works, which are all wrote with equal judgment, elegance and erudition; De ſeptem Eccleſiæ Sacramentis. De optimi Antiſtitis officio. Scholia in Epiſtolas *Divi Pauli*. Confutatio Articulorum *Lutheri*. De poteſtate Papæ. De libero arbitrio. De Animæ immortalitate.—This latter treatiſe was wrote againſt *Pomponatius*, under whom he had ſtudied, and who had the impiety to teach, that the Soul was, like the Body, mortal.

The Contents of the foregoing Article are chiefly collected from the letters of CARDINAL POLE and *Contareni* to each other. Ep. *Reg. Poli*, pars 3 à pag. 11, uſque ad pag. 31. and from *Contareni* Tractatus, ſive epiſtola de Juſtificatione. *Ibid.* pag 190.

become

become acquainted with him at the conference at *Nice*, wrote to him in terms full of esteem and good will; and, from the opinion he had of his prudence, desired him to assist with his counsel the French Embassador at the court of *Rome*. He made, moreover, an offer of every proof, by which he could realize the sentiments he had of his merit; but added, that being sensible of the interest which his virtue gave him with a Monarch infinitely greater than himself, he entreated him to intercede with him on his behalf.—" The CARDINAL's answer was suited to this mark of the King's goodness; which, he says, was so much the more acceptable, as that Prince, to whom he was nearly allied in blood, and the Country where he received his birth, not only looked on him as an Outlaw, but endeavoured to hinder others from shewing him that humanity, to which their own breasts were strangers. In this says he, your Majesty bears a likeness of the goodness of that Being, who not only does not cast off those whom the World undeservedly rejects, but takes them under his special protection, and watches with an attentive and merciful providence over their welfare. On this account, though I feel all the joy such a declaration should give me, yet I see no less reason to congratulate you, Sir, on a disposition so becoming your Royal state, than to thank the Almighty that it is exerted in my behalf.—He concludes with a mention of the Congress at *Nice*, and the Conferences the King had there with the Pope, *Contareni*, and himself; and of the many and excellent qualities he had discovered in that Monarch, and which had impressed on his mind a love and veneration for his person, which he had ever since retained."

BUT if the hardships the CARDINAL here speaks of, and the disasters which had befallen his family; the sentence of death, under which his Mother

Mother then lay, and the ſlavery of his Country, had been of that kind of Evils which are alleviated by the puniſhment of the Author; this cordial drop was now adminiſtered by the ſlow but ſure vengeance, which, at length overtook him, who had been the inſtrument of them all. This was the execution of *Cromwel*, the King's chief Miniſter, which was attended with every aggravation that can fill up the meaſure of wretchedneſs; and make the Criminal feel the whole weight both of his guilt and puniſhment. From a birth as ſordid as can debaſe even the dregs of the common people, he had been ſucceſſively raiſed to the dignities of Maſter of the Rolls, Lord Privy Seal, and High Chamberlain: had been created Baron *Cromwel*, Earl of *Eſſex*, and Knight of the Garter: and, though without any tincture of learning, was made the King's Vicar General in Spirituals; a Poſt hitherto unknown to the liſt of the great Officers of the Crown, but which gave him precedence before all the Nobility, and immediately after the Royal family. He had amaſſed an Eſtate out of the ſpoils of the Religious houſes, which would appear utterly incredible, did not our Records deſcend to each particular of that ſacrilegious plunder which the King's waſteful temper heaped on him*. And that his own miſtaken forecaſt might compleat his ruin, the very meaſure he took to ſecure his power, only ſerved to haſten his downfall. His adminiſtration, from the beginning, had been hateful to the Commons, on every account which can make the exerciſe of that public Station unpopular and odious; and the Nobles had their particular reaſons of averſion, in ſeeing a Blackſmith's Son ſet above them all. *Henry Bourchier*,

* *Pat.* 31. *Henry* VIII. pag. 5. *Dug.* Bar. vol. 2. pag. 312.

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the laſt Earl of *Eſſex* of that name, was killed by a fall from his horſe, and though he only left a Daughter, yet that noble family ſtill ſubſiſted in ſeveral collateral branches; and *John de Veres*, Earl of *Oxford*, in whoſe family the office of High Chamberlain had been many years hereditary, died in the ſame month; and *Cromwel* obtained both theſe honours, to the great diſguſt not only of the two intereſted families, and their alliances; but of the whole body of the Nobility, who deemed their honours vilified by being communicated to an Upſtart. This general diſcontent reached the King's ears, and made him not unwilling to regain the People's affection, by giving up the Object of their reſentment. Two years before the period of his greatneſs, the forebodings of a guilty mind had cauſed him to miſtruſt it would not be durable; and to make the ſureſt proviſion he could for his family and dependants: and in order to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt the friends of the ancient Religion, particularly Biſhop *Gardiner*, and the Duke of *Norfolk*, who began to gain the aſcendant in the Council, he lately brought about a match between the King and *Anne* of *Cleves*. But the diſlike *Henry* conceived for his new Bride made him break looſe from all the reſtraints which till then had retarded the Miniſter's fall; and overturned, in a ſingle inſtant, that mighty Coloſſus, which undeſerved favour had been ten years rearing at the coſt which has been mentioned. The Duke of *Norfolk*, his ſworn enemy, and whoſe Niece was already pitched on to ſucceed the German Princeſs, was ordered to ſeize him at the Council board, and commit him to the Tower. A Bill of Attainder was drawn up againſt him *, in which Lord *Herbert* ſays, " he was charged with

* Parl. Rolls, 32 *Hen.* VIII. Act 60.

great and enormous crimes, and ſuch as deſerved the moſt capital puniſhment." The two Houſes, when they paſſed the Bill, followed likewiſe the execrable example the Offender himſelf had ſet them, in the former Seſſion, in the Attainders of the Counteſs of *Saliſbury*, the Marchioneſs of *Exeter*, and others, and condemned him without any legal Trial, and unheard. The news of his impriſonment and approaching doom was no ſooner notified to the People, but the loudeſt acclamations teſtified the joy of all Ranks. They had ſhewn the ſame ſentiments ten years before, when on his Patron *Wolſey*'s diſgrace, they unanimouſly demanded, as CARDINAL POLE atteſts, who was then in *London*, that he might atone for his miſdemeanors on a gibbet; and now they comforted themſelves with the hopes of better times, when he was removed, to whom they imputed all their ſufferings. *Cranmer* alone ſhewed a high eſteem and concern for him; and in a letter to the King, among other arguments by which he endeavoured to move his compaſſion, makes uſe of one which muſt appear very extraordinary when alledged by an Archbiſhop, " that *Cromwel* had ever loved his Majeſty, as he, *Cranmer*, thought, no leſs than God." In a letter he wrote the King, after his Commitment, * he falls into folly and extravagance; and denies a guilt †, with which the whole te-

* If it were in my power to make your Majeſty ever young and proſperous (as it is in God's) God knowyth, I woulde; Yf it had bene, or were in my power to make you ſo riche, as ye might enriche alle men, God helpe me, as I wolde do it. If it had bene, or were in my power to make your Majeſty ſo puyſſant, as alle the worlde ſholde be compelled to obey you, Chriſt knowyth I wolde.

† But that I have don any injuſtice or wrong wylfully, I truſt God ſhal bare me wytneſs, and the world not be able to accuſe me juſtly.

nor

nor of his adminiſtration was ſtained; * he has recourſe to abject flattery, † and betrays a cowardly fear of death. Being come to the place of Execution, he ſaid, "he did not intend, as ſome might imagine, to ſay any thing in his own juſtification; and, if he did, he ſhould be a very Wretch: and he thanked God for the atonement he was about to make for his ſins." Though, in his letter to the King, he had acquitted himſelf of any wrong or injuſtice, yet here, "he owned he had lived a Sinner ever ſince he came to the uſe of reaſon; and, ſince he was in power, had offended his Prince.—He deſired the People to join with him in begging mercy of God, and called on each of the three divine Perſons to pardon him.—He aſked the Spectators to bear witneſs that he died in the Catholic Faith, not doubting of any Article, nor of any Sacrament:" and though it had been notorious, that he favoured all the Novelties of the times, and was himſelf void of every ſentiment of Religion, yet he treats all this as falſehood and ſlander:—He confeſſed, however, that, as God's holy Spirit inſtructs us in truth, ſo the Devil is at hand to ſeduce us; and that he had been ſeduced; and entreats the People, a ſecond time, to bear witneſs that he died in the Catholic Faith of the holy Church‡.

28th *July* 1540.

THIS was the end of one of the worſt of men, and moſt pernicious Miniſters that ever directed the Council of a Tyrant, or oppreſſed a Nation. His parts and induſtry, which were both very great, only added to the public calamity, as they were ever exerted

* Such has bene your moſt grave and godly counſayle to me at ſundry times.

† Written with the heavy heart and trembling hand of your Highneſs's moſt heavy and moſt miſerable priſoner and poor ſlave *T. C.* moſt gracious Prince, I cry for mercy, mercy, mercy.—Cot Lib. *Titus*, b. 1. Ditto *Otho*, c. 10 *Burnet's* Collection of Records to the Hiſt. of the Reform *Dug.* Bar. vol. [illegible], pag 372, 373.

‡ *Hall's* Chr. edit. 1550, in *Henry* VIII fol. 242. *J. Fox*, p. 1190.

erted to the most unwarrantable purposes, except in the single instance of his Patron *Wolsey*'s defence. Notwithstanding all the favour which learning met with in his youthful years, he had no relish for it; and, being grown up, he rambled abroad, and was a common Soldier in the Duke of *Bourbon*'s army, at the sacking of *Rome*; and there initiated himself, by a suitable prelude, to that scene of rapine, sacrilege, and bloodshed, which he was afterwards to exhibit in his own Country. Whilst he was in foreign parts, he became acquainted with their manners and language; and *Machiavel*'s works appearing about this time, and in the Country where he then was, he not only tasted the Cup, which contained the poison, but drank it off to the dregs; and on REGINALD POLE's return to *England* from the University of *Padua*, he attempted, as has been seen elsewhere, to make him relish the deadly draught. His impiety went beyond what the Italian Politician had dared to avow; and, on Archbishop *Warham*'s resistance to some Court measures, he expressed himself in a manner too shocking to be repeated to a Christian ear *. To all the complicated injustice and cruelty, which attended the dissolution of Religious houses, of which he was the Adviser, he added insult and mockery, and employed means to extort the surrender of several, more inhuman and iniquitous than the seizure itself †. Notwithstanding the immense wealth with which this change of property had increased the Revenue, and the promises made to the People, that they should be eased of all future taxes, the Exchequer was still exhausted, and the Minister still found pretexts to load the

See Sect. I. p 42.

* Hist. M. S. cited by *le Grand*, Hist. du divorce, t. 1. page 243.

† Sir *W Dugdale*'s Antiq. Warw. ed. 1730, vol. 2, page 1112, &c. *Fuller*'s Ch. Hist. b. 6, page 318, edit 1655, Col. Eccl. Hist. vol. 2, page 155, &c.

Nation

Nation with heavier charges than it had yet felt: and in a Parliament held a few months before he was beheaded, besides a large subsidy raised on the Clergy, he obtained, though not without great reluctance, one tenth and four fifteenths of all the Laity's goods in the Kingdom. But that there might be no point of public view in which he could be considered any otherwise than as an Object of universal hatred, in which, Lord *Herbert* says, he was held, and which attended him to the Scaffold, nothing was undertaken or thought on, to the emolument and honour of *England*, during his whole Administration; and the transactions of those ten years amount to no more than a Tale of Woe, which blends the Monarch's and the Minister's crimes with the Nation's misery*. 12th *April*

THE first account of *Cromwel*'s death brought likewise the news that, in his last moments, he had given all the signs of a sincere repentance; and the CARDINAL signified to one of his friends the joy he had felt at this information. Some time after, having seen persons who were present at the execution, and had been witnesses of his behaviour, and heard the Criminal's last words; he let his friend know, this second intelligence had deprived him of all the satisfaction which the former had given him; and was of too equivocal a nature, to ground any confidence of a change of heart: that, this being the case, he would suspend any further thought concerning him, and leave his lot to the decision of an all-knowing Judge, to whom those secrets are open which are hid from Men†.

THE English CARDINAL had now given such instances of his integrity and abilities, as drew on

* Ld. *Herbert*'s life of *Henry* VIII. ed 1649 p. 455, 456, 457, and 461, 462.

† Epist, *R Poli*, pars 3a, page 62.

him

him the attention of the Court of *Rome*, and that approbation, which is but too often the late and backward acknowledgement of foreign merit. The interests of the holy See were concerned in makking use of his prudence and experience in public affairs: and her reputation in distinguishing a person who had suffered so much for his attachment to that cause, of which she is, by way of excellence, the Protector. These considerations determined *Paul* III. to confer on him, without any solicitation on his part, one of the most honourable Posts in the Papal Dominions, as a public mark of the CARDINAL's worth and his own sense of it. This choice met with the greater approbation, as it was not only a recompense of past services, but gave him an opportunity of displaying his talents in a different character from any he had hitherto appeared in.

THE Ecclesiastical state is very considerable, both as to extent and situation. It lies in the heart of *Italy*, and is bounded on the North, by the Venetian Dominions and the Adriatic Sea; on the East, by the Kingdom of *Naples*; by the Mediterranean, on the South: and, on the West, by the Dukedoms of *Florence* and *Modena*. The length from North to South, is about 240 miles; and the greatest breadth, which is between *Ancona* and *Civita-Vecchia*, about 120. Besides these dominions, the Dukedom of *Benevento*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the Principality of *Avignon*, in *Provence*, make a part of the Papal possessions. The two Seas which lie on each side of the Ecclesiastical State, would give it great advantages with respect to commerce, did the industry of the Inhabitants bear any proportion to the convenience of their situation; and the slightest knowledge of ancient history informs every Reader, how fruitful and plenteous this Country formerly was, and still might be, was that spirit revived,

without

without which the ſoil is fertile and commercial Seas roll in vain. Some ſpots ſtill bear witneſs to the bounty of Nature, and the huſbandry of the People; and nothing can be more delightful, or better cultivated than the Country about *Senegalia*, *Fano*, and *Peſaro*, on the coaſt of the Adriatic. The ſame, with reſpect to culture, is the caſe of a great part of the territory of *Bologna*.

THIS State is divided into ſeveral Departments, which have Governors appointed by the Pope, with the quality of Legate, or of a rank next to that dignity. The chief of theſe Departments are, that of *Rome*, which is under the Pope's immediate juriſdiction; the province of the *Patrimony*, *Sabina*, *Ombria*, or the Dukedom of *Orvieto*; the Marquiſate of *Ancona*, the Dukedom of *Urbino*, the greater part of *Romagna*, properly ſo called, which comprehends *Bologna* and its Appurtenances, with the Dukedom of *Ferrara*.

AMONGST theſe Governments, that of the *Province of the Patrimony* is the moſt honourable, as it lies in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, and makes a valuable part of the Papal dominions. It compriſes the ancient *Hetruria*, and, in the infancy of *Rome*, was the ſeat of ſeveral warlike and populous nations, the *Volſinii*, *Tarquinii*, *Falerii*, *Vejentes*, *Cærites*, and others. Theſe, firſt, contended with that growing State, and then, being ſubdued and incorporated with her, made a part of her ſtrength. But, long before the end of the Republic, no more remained of theſe ancient Kingdoms, than is now to be found of the *Trinobantes*, *Iceni*, and the other original Inhabitants of *Britain*; and what a Roman Hiſtorian ſays of one of the Royal Cities, that held out a ten years ſiege againſt the whole ſtrength of *Rome*, may ſerve as an Epitaph to them all: "So conſiderable were the *Vejentes*, at that time; at preſent who remembers there ever was ſuch a peo-

people? what remains, what footſteps even of their exiſtence? Hiſtory ſcarcely gains credit when ſhe informs us there was ſuch a nation*." The Conquerors have undergone the ſame Revolution; and in this extenſive Province, which was ſo conſiderable a part of the Roman territory, there are almoſt as few traces of the Victors as the Vanquiſhed.

THIS fair Domain in its preſent Condition, was bequeathed to the holy See by *Mathildis*, Counteſs of *Tuſcany*, in the year 1115, and contains ſeveral conſiderable ſtates, beſides other diviſions of leſs note; to which the Dukedom of *Caſtro* has been ſince added. It is bounded on the North, by *Ombria*; and by the river Tyber, on the Eaſt; on the Weſt, by the South part of *Tuſcany*; and on the South, by that part of the Mediterranean, which is called the Tuſcan Sea. Its greateſt extent from North to South is about fifty common Italian miles, and ſomething leſs from Eaſt to Weſt.

THE moſt important places are *Civita Vecchia*, formerly called *Centum Cellæ*, where the Pope's Gallies are ſtationed; *Corneto*, which ſtands on an eminence on the banks of the *Marta*, and near the ruins of *Gravica*, and *Tarquinia*. *Tuſcallenna*, which is on the borders of the ſame River, and has gone by the different names of *Salumbrona*, *Tuſcia*, and *Tuſcana*; and, though it gave its name to all the adjacent Country, it now retains little more of its once flouriſhing ſtate, than what ſoothes beauty in decay, the remembrance of former power. *Orti* ſtands on the Tyber, where the *Nar* falls into that river, and has the title of a Biſhoprick, which is united to

* Hoc tunc *Vejentes* fuere: nunc fuiſſe quis meminit? quæ reliquiæ? quodve veſtigium? laborat annalium fides, ut *Vejos* fuiſſe credamus. *Florus*, l. 1. c. 12.

that

that of *Civita-Castellana.* The rivulet *Pozzolo* runs by *Nepi*, mentioned by *Livy* by the name of *Nepate*, and is, likewise, a titular Episcopal See, united to that of *Sutri.* The Dukedom of *Castro*, which formerly belonged to the Dukes of *Parma*, has been in the possession of the Popes since the year 1649. It was formerly a Bishoprick, but the Inhabitants having murdered their Prelate, *Innocent* X. caused the City to be rased and transferred the See to *Acqua-Pendente.* The territory of *Orvieto*, which the Romans called *Ager Urbevetanus*, takes in several towns, and among others, that from which the adjoining Country derives its appellation; *Acqua Pendente* and *Bagnarea*, which was the ancient *Balneoregium*, and *Capranica*; of which I have had occasion to speak elsewhere. *Ronciglione*, also, gives its name to a small state; and the Dukedom of *Bracciano* is in the middle of this Department. *Viterbo*, the chief City of the Province of the Patrimony, and the usual seat of the Governor, lies about forty Italian miles, north-west of *Rome.* It is called in latin, *Viterbium*, and sometimes *Tetrapolis*; and the Inhabitants, the *Quaterni Populi*, being one of the four towns which were associated under the name of *Viterbo*, by *Desiderius*, the last King of *Lombardy.* The Episcopal See was transferred hither from *Ferrento*, and is immediately subject to the Pope. The monuments of several Popes, many stately buildings, with public fountains, and other works, both for convenience and magnificence, contribute to make *Viterbo* one of the most considerable Cities of the Ecclesiastical State.

THE Pope conferred on CARDINAL POLE this Government with those significations of good will which enhance the Price of a benefaction. He let him know, that his approved abilities made him, the Pope, desirous he should not be at too

great a diſtance from his perſon: that *Viterbo*, the place of his future reſidence, was within an eaſy day's journey of *Rome*; and on a ſhort warning, he might have his advice on any emergency: that, in the choice of the Poſt in which he had placed him, among other conſiderations, he had conſulted the CARDINAL's little reliſh for the manner of life he was obliged to lead at *Rome*, and, therefore, had provided him with a ſituation, in which he might be beneficial to others, without depriving himſelf of the advantages of privacy and retirement.—To this gracious declaration of the Pontiff, he returned his thanks by the following letter.

"YOUR Holineſs, by conferring on me the Government of the Province of the Patrimony, has exempted me from the neceſſity of ſeeking, from foreign Princes, a ſubſiſtence ſuitable to my birth, after having been deprived of my Country, and all that is dear to me, by Him, in whoſe dominions I was born. From this diſagreeable dependence, which is the hard lot of many, your ſingular goodneſs has ſet me free; and taken me under the protection of his Vicegerent, in whoſe cauſe I have forfeited whatever I was otherwiſe entitled to. Though I propoſe, very ſoon, to make your Holineſs my beſt acknowledgments, in perſon; the greatneſs of the favour, and the ſeaſonable circumſtances in which I receive it, being at a time when I ſtand moſt in need of ſuch a maintenance, does not allow me to withhold, though for ſo ſhort a ſpace, the ſenſe I have of the obligation, and the gratitude I feel for my Benefactor. I ſhall uſe no effort to make my expreſſions, on this occaſion, come up to my ſentiments; and deſire your Holineſs to be aſſured, that whatever I could ſay would fall ſhort of them. All I would ſignify is, that my future life ſhall atteſt the ſincerity with which I now own how much I

am

am indebted to your paternal care, from whoſe favour, next to the divine goodneſs, I have received the honours and emoluments I enjoy. Nothing could be more deſirable to me, than to employ them to the honour and ſervice of your Holineſs, and your illuſtrious family, to which I belong by ſo many ties. May a good Providence long preſerve you to us and to the whole Chriſtian Commonwealth*."

He had no ſooner entered on this high office, but he appeared in a Character which was no longer the effect of inſtructions received from others, but the genuine reſult of his own diſpoſitions. This opportunity had hitherto been wanting in his Embaſſies, where his own lights could go no further than they agreed with the orders he was to execute: and even theſe orders had been ſo counteracted by the Courts, to which he was ſent on two very intricate negociations, as to give very little opening to his abilities. The ſtation he was now placed in, ſet him at large from all ſuch Controul, and ſhewed his mind in its native liberty. We have only to regret, that his adminiſtration is not come down to us in ſuch a detajl as could not have failed to be honourable to his memory, and ſerviceable to All in power, being a plan not drawn from ſpeculation, but recommended by action and real life. The few Sketches, indeed, which have been preſerved, are ſufficient to enable us to trace the juſtneſs and excellence of the whole piece, whoſe outlines are ſo noble and regular.

His firſt care, as Legate of the holy See, was to imbue the people committed to his charge with the ſpirit of Chriſtianity, which, in that age, was rare even in the neighbourhood of the Capital of of the Chriſtian World. This he effected by the example of a blameleſs life, which was not only

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars. 4a. pag. 32.

out of the reach of reproach, but a pattern of every virtue becoming a Prince of the Catholic Church, and the Governor of a large Province. His Houſhold was choſen from a ſimilitude of characters with his own. The chief perſons who compoſed it were, *Aloyſius Priuli*, a Nobleman of *Venice*, in whoſe commendation our equitable Countrymen have been as liberal as thoſe of his own communion*; *Becatelli*, his principal Secretary; *Parpalia*, Abbe of St. *Salute*, *Ormeneto*, and others: all Perſons of great diſtinction, who had followed his fortunes, from no other motive than their attachment to his perſon, and admiration of his Virtue. They were not only eaſy, but at large with reſpect to circumſtances, and yet they preferred the ſociety of a Foreigner, whoſe head was proſcribed, to independance, and all the advantages they would have enjoyed in their reſpective Countries. Was their merit unknown to us by any other particulars, this alone would be ſufficient to annex a very extraordinary idea to it. The many valuable qualities of *Henry Pening*, his Chamberlain, and Receiver General, entitle him to a place in the forementioned liſt.

The firſt care of the new Governor was, as I have ſaid, to reform the manners of the people ſubject to his authority: and the diſorders of the times called for an active and enlightened zeal. Error, no leſs than immorality, was to be checked; and the ſpirit of irreligious giddineſs had not only ſeized the North, but had found admittance under the ſouthern Climes: and he was under a neceſſity of being particularly watchful to apply ſuitable remedies to vice, and prevent any deviation from truth, or recall thoſe to it who were gone aſtray. His vigilance ſucceeded in the former; and the methods he made uſe of

* Biog. *Brit.* Article *Pole*, (yy).

to

to compaſs the latter, were gentleneſs and perſuaſion. I ſhall exemplify this in one inſtance, which will make all others unneceſſary.—*Flaminius* had inbibed, at *Naples*, the tenets of *Valdes*, with whom he had contracted a dangerous intimacy, and was returned to *Rome*, a proſelyte to his impious ſyſtem. The LEGATE, who had formerly lived with him in great familiarity, and was acquainted with his many excellent qualities, was ſenſibly affected with his friend's misfortune, and deſirous to retrieve it. Wherefore, without taking any notice of what had happened, he invited him to paſs ſome time at *Viterbo*, where he then was, and converſing with him ſometimes on polite literature, in which *Flaminius* excelled; and, at others, on Religious matters, he diſpoſed him gradually to return to the Catholic doctrine, to which he ever after ſtedfaſtly adhered. The LEGATE, in whoſe houſe, ten years after, he ended his life, in a very Chriſtian manner, was ſo pleaſed with a Convert of ſuch importance, that he uſed to ſay, beſides being inſtrumental to his friend's happineſs, he had rendered a ſingular ſervice to the cauſe of Truth, by reclaiming *Flaminius*, who exerted a very fine genius in honour of it, and wrote with equal elegance in Italian and Latin*.

HIS intimate friend *Sadolet*, Biſhop of *Carpentras*, proceeded on the ſame principles, and wrote, about this time, the following letter to *Alexander Farneſe*, the firſt perſon of the Court of *Rome*. "I received a few days ago, with that reſpect which is due to all orders of the holy See, a commiſſion from the Pope, which authorizes me to cauſe the Lutherans to be ſought after and puniſhed. It gives me ſingular ſatisfaction that his Holineſs ſhould not think me unworthy to be en-

* Vita *Poli.*

trusted with such an affair: and I entreat your Excellence to signify my gratitude to him for this mark of his esteem. As to the commission itself, I shall, if necessity obliges me, put it in execution; but I will use my best endeavours to prevent all such necessity. The Arguments I chuse to make use of, to convince the minds of those who err, tho' in appearance, and in the opinion of a common Observer, they may seem to be less vigorous than the case requires, are, in reality, far more efficacious. For it is not a countenance armed with terror, nor racks and gibbets, but the exposition of Truth itself, and, above all other methods, the lenity of a Christian Spirit which draws from misguided men that Confession of error, in which the heart has a greater share than the tongue †."

Could sentiments so equitable stand in need of other arguments or other authority to recommend them, besides what has been alledged from these two eminent personages; *Sulpicius Severus*, one of the greatest Ornaments of the fourth Century, might be cited; who blames the Bishops *Idacius* and *Ithacius* for applying to secular Judges for the banishment of the *Pricillianists*, and represents the prosecution they carried on, at the Emperor's Court, as a shameful proceeding. The indignation they raised against themselves was still greater, when they followed them to *Treves*, in quality of Accusers. St. *Martin*, whose beloved Disciple *Severus* had been, pressed *Ithacius* to desist from carrying on the cause against them, and entreated the Emperor to spare their lives. But when, notwithstanding all his endeavours, they were put to death, neither He nor St. *Ambrose* would have any farther communication with the Prosecutors, or the Bishops who continued in their communion,

Pessimo exemplo.

† *Sad.* Epist. lib. 12. pag. 442.

though

though they were favoured by the Emperor; and the former reproached himſelf, as long as he lived, for having, afterwards, caſually communicated with that party; tho' it was to ſave the lives of ſome innocent perſons of quality: on which occaſion, being aſked to give conſent to their proceedings, he openly refuſed it*. I ſhall add one authority more, and then take leave of a ſubject which I am ſorry ſhould have ever ſtood in need of any proof but its own ſelf-evidence. The followers of *Donatus*, and particularly that branch of them which were called *Circoncillions*, practiſed every kind of cruelty on the Catholics: yet St. *Auſtin* writing to the Pro-conſul of *Africa*, his particular friend, who was commiſſioned to put the imperial laws in execution againſt them, delivers himſelf in the following words. "When you judge cauſes, in which the Church is concerned, how atrocious ſoever the injuries ſhe has ſuffered may be, we entreat you, Sir, to forget, on this occaſion, that you have power of life and death; and do not reject a petition on their behalf whoſe amendment we daily aſk of God. The reſolution of overcoming evil by good is what we ſhould never depart from; and you are to remember that none but Eccleſiaſtics bring before you any thing which concerns the Church. Inſomuch, that if you puniſh the guilty with death, you deprive us of the liberty of bringing our grievances to your tribunal; and leave us to ſtill greater outrages, as our enemies will ſee us in the neceſſity of letting them take away our lives, rather than cauſe them to forfeit theirs." He concludes his letter with theſe remarkable words; "However great an Evil the error is which we wiſh them to abjure, and however deſirable the Truth we would have them embrace; yet it is a

* *Sul. Sev.* Hiſt. lib. 2.

trouble-

troublesome, not a profitable task, to employ constraint rather than instruction *."

THE LEGATE's vigilance in his Government, and his lenity, in particular, was so universally acknowledged, that some years after, when he was about being raised to the Papacy, and those, who were jealous of his merit, objected to him, that, during his whole administration, he had caused only two persons to be put to death, he made no other answer, than that this mildness had not proceeded from indolence; and that he had reason to thank Providence for not having been under a necessity of holding another conduct: that the change in the manners of the People, and the dispositions in which he left them, so different from those he had found them in, were the only Certificates he had any need to produce in his own justification †.

THOUGH He made what regarded the worship of the supreme Being, both with respect to Faith and Practice, the primary object of his administration, which *Aristotle* has laid down as a principle in politics, should be the chief care of every ruler; yet his solicitude extended to every district of his charge; particularly to the distribution of Justice, and a caution that the lower and necessitous class of the people were not oppressed by their superiors. His forecast went still further, and he did what depended on him to give a lazy and luxurious race of men a relish for industry. It is customary for the Court of *Rome* to assign each town of the Ecclesiastical State to the patronage of some Cardinal; and, in consequence of this usage, the LEGATE was appointed Patron of *Bagnaria*, in the Province of the *Patrimony*, and called by the *Romans*, *Bal-*

* Epist. 100, aliàs 127.
† Vita *R. Poli*, fol. 19 à tergo.

neoregium;

neoregium; or, as ſome think, *Novempagi*, by *Pliny*. He lent the Inhabitants, whom he found remarkably averſe to labour, a conſiderable ſum of money, that they might ſet up a woollen manufacture, and betake themſelves to ſomething beyond baſking in the Sun and warbling to a Guitar*.

His taſte for Literature was too early and deeply impreſt, not to make the encouragement of it a favourite department of his care. It was the employment of his hours of leiſure and retirement. The *Viterbo* Society, as it was termed, which he eſtabliſhed and honoured by being a Member of it, was compoſed of ſome of the fineſt Geniuſes, and moſt valuable men of that age; nor were perſons of the other Sex, whoſe minds were ſuperior to ſcandal and trifle, excluded from the advantages of this aſſembly †. *Victoria*, Marchioneſs of *Peſcara*, was one of thoſe Women, *whoſe price is far above Rubies*; and her connections with Reginald Pole were too particular not to have her mentioned with honour in the hiſtory of his life. She was daughter to *Fabricius Colonna*, and wife to *Francis Avalos*, Marquis of *Peſcara*. After the battle of *Pavia*, which was won by her huſband's valour, ſhe diſſuaded him from accepting the offer of the crown of *Naples*, which the Pope and Princes of *Italy* made him, as inconſiſtent with his honour. She excelled in polite learning, and wrote a very fine latin Poem, in which her own name and her huſband's praiſes are conſigned to all poſterity. The ſubject of *Vida*'s third Eclogue, which is inſcribed *Nice*, is *D'Avalos*'s funeral, and does equal honour to the Hero and to Her, who is introduced mourning his death. Though ſolicited by ſome of the greateſt

Prov. ch. xxxi. ver. 10.

* *Poli* Vita.

† Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 3ª. pag. 59, et ſeq.

Princes

Princes of *Italy*, ſhe would never admit any propoſals of a ſecond marriage, and having ſhewn a firmneſs of ſoul not to be dazzled with the luſtre of a diadem, ſhe, at length, retired from the world, and ended her days in a Monaſtery *. This Lady bequeathed to the LEGATE ten thouſand crowns, which he refuſed to accept, and ordered the whole of a legacy ſo conſiderable, eſpecially in thoſe times, to be added to the fortune of the Marchioneſs's Niece, when ſhe married Don *Garcia* of *Toledo*. A rare example of generoſity, and which, ſays the Italian Author of his life, will have few Imitators †.

THESE are the chief of the few particulars, which, as I have ſaid, are come down to us, of the LEGATE's adminiſtration. What his ſentiments were, in general, of the nature and duty of ſuch a charge, may be gathered from what he wrote to his friend *Contareni*, on his being appointed, much about the ſame time, Governor of *Bologna*. "I muſt return you, my Lord, my beſt thanks for giving me the pleaſure of hearing ſo often from you, notwithſtanding the multiplicity of your occupations. I may with truth affirm, that the tranquillity we here enjoy, as deſirable as it is, does not afford us greater ſatisfaction than the account you ſent us of a more buſy Scene, in which you are engaged. Indeed, my Lord, this relation does no more than confirm the opinion I ever had of the ſtrength of your parts, which can buoy up where others are depreſſed and loſt. But my ſatisfaction was complete, when I underſtood from the concurrent teſtimony of the Public, that the expectation I had conceived of you, however great, has been ſurpaſſed by a mind ſuperior to that wearineſs and

* *Jovius*, in vitâ March. *Peſc. Guicciardini, Thuanus.*
† Vita *Poli*.

ſatiety,

ſatiety, which buſineſs is apt to bring with it, and which cauſes you to find repoſe in eaſing others of their complaints and hardſhips. In this, my Lord, I ſee the image of a truly Chriſtian Magiſtrate, who, without regard to his own convenience, procires the ſafety and advantage of thoſe comm tted to him. This can only be performed by ſuch as have learnt from their divine Maſter, to ſhew their affection to Him by the love and care they beſtow on Mankind *."

In another letter to the ſame great perſonage, the ſubject led him into the following ſhort account of himſelf: "The contentment I find, ſays he, in my preſent ſtation, is above any thing I could have promiſed myſelf; and, though the Poſt I am in brings with it a certain neceſſary occupation, yet this is ſo far from breaking into my plan of life, that it improves and recommends it. I need not ſay any thing of the alacrity I ought to feel in the adminiſtration of Juſtice, and the aſſiſtance, I am willing to hope, all thoſe find, who ſtand in need of it. Theſe employments do not interrupt my morning hours, which I dedicate to my ſtudies, and am careful to lay them out to the beſt advantage. All the buſineſs of the Government is tranſacted in the afternoon; unleſs ſomething extraordinary requires immediate diſpatch: but theſe incidents are rare, and, when they happen, do not take above an hour or two †."

It ſhould not be forgotten, that the Governor, though a Cardinal, was not yet in holy orders, and had only received the tonſure, by which thoſe are initiated who deſign themſelves for the Clergy. Yet his adminiſtration gained him ſo general an eſteem, that, a few years after, he was choſen to the higheſt and moſt important poſt in which the

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 3ª, pag. 52. among the Italian letters.

† Ibid. pag. 41.

Chriſtian

Chriſtian Hierarchy can place merit, being, as the ſequel of this hiſtory will ſhew, appointed one of the three Legates who opened the General Council of *Trent*, and preſided at it.

Soon after he had taken poſſeſſion of his Government, a Youth of the firſt quality, and his near Kinſman had left *England*, to avoid the difficulties the King laid him under on the ſcore of Religion. The Legate, to whom he made application, not judging it proper either that he ſhould come to *Rome*, or be with him at *Viterbo*, deſired the Cardinal of *Mantua*, *Hercules Gonzaga*, to receive him into his houſhold, and give him ſome employment in it. But that polite Prince, though he readily complied with the firſt part of the requeſt, had too great a reſpect for the Royal blood of *England*, to make uſe of any one about his perſon, who deſcended from it. The young man had not been long his Güeſt, before he had diſcovered that his manners were by no means anſwerable to the zeal he had teſtified for his Religion: and the Legate, on the firſt notice of this diſagreeable incident, would have removed him to a private houſe of a friend of his at *Padua*; but the Cardinal would ſtill keep him in his family, till the reaſons, which hindered the Legate from having him at *Viterbo*, had ceaſed. On this, he thanked his noble friend, by a very elegant letter, for a civility which had been owing to a regard for himſelf, and teſtified to him his regret of its not having been conferred on one more deſerving.—We have no further light on this matter; nor is the perſon's name once mentioned, or any thing ſaid by which a conjecture may be made who he was *.

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 3ª. among the Italian letters, page 71.

The Pope being to go to *Civita Vecchia* in the ſecond year of the Legate's government, as that place is in the Province of the *Patrimony*, his poſt required that he ſhould wait on him at his arrival. He had now been abſent from *Rome* a conſiderable time, which, he ſays, heightened the pleaſure he received from the ſight of a Sovereign, to whom he had ſuch ſignal obligations; and who, on his part, was no leſs pleaſed to meet the Legate. He was immediately admitted to an audience, and had a long conference with the Pope on the preſent Criſis of the Chriſtian World, and the calamities with which it was threatened. Something, likewiſe, was brought in of the affairs of *England*, and of what might ſeem to give ſome proſpect of happier days. The praiſes of *Contareni*'s morals, judgment, and learning were not forgot; and the Pope entered on the particulars, which, at firſt, gained him his good will, and cauſed him to adopt him into the ſacred College.—The Legate ſignifies, that his eſteem for the Cardinal of the holy Croſs, *Marcellus Cervini*, who came to *Civita Vecchia* with the Court, and was afterwards Pope, increaſed in proportion as he became acquainted with him; becauſe, to uſe his own expreſſion, in which he lets us ſee a truly Engliſh ſentiment, he diſcovered in him thoſe radical qualities, which make an honeſt man.—He ſpeaks with the higheſt commendation of the parts of *Alexander Farneſe*, who, likewiſe, accompanied the Pope, and ſends up the moſt ardent wiſhes, that this young Prince may uſe proper care to be acquainted with that Source of Good, from which alone all happineſs is derived *.—His ſtay at *Civita Vecchia* was

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 3ª. among the Italian letters, page 50.

ſhort

7th *Feb.* 1542. ſhort, and he returned to *Viterbo* on the Pope's ſetting out for *Rome*.

THE news of the LEGATE's promotion ſoon reached the King of *England*, and that reſtleſs curioſity which pries into the character of thoſe who are obnoxious to us, informed him, almoſt at the ſame time that his Kinſman's adminiſtration was altogether unlike that on which he proceeded; and wanted nothing but extent, to be as glorious to himſelf and beneficial to mankind, as his own was ignominious and deſtructive. He had borne him an implacable hatred at a time when he was more the object of compaſſion than envy; but now he had that additional motive, with which ſucceſsful merit furniſhes worthleſs men. He perceived the gradual advances of the LEGATE to conſummate fame and greatneſs; but ſaw it with impotent indignation. His imagination was haunted with the idea of a perſon, who continued to condemn the miſdemeanors of a long and guilty reign; and he reſolved to rid himſelf, at any rate, of thoſe dark, tho' cauſeleſs fears, againſt which the Guards of Tyrants are no defence. In conſequence of this, he doomed to deſtruction a Prince of his own blood, and employed the baſeſt, as well as moſt iniquitous of all means to accompliſh it. Tho' ſeveral other projects of the Aſſaſſination, which was now agreed on, had been ſtrongly ſuſpected, and publickly talked of, yet the firſt attempt of this kind, which came to a legal Trial, was diſcovered at *Viterbo*, where three Italians were hired by the King for that purpoſe. The LEGATE, on their conviction, inſtead of treating them according to their deſerts, mitigated the ſeverity of the laws in their favour, and having cauſed them to be confined ſome time, ſet them again at liberty. This diſappointment, and the LEGATE's clemency, ſerved only to inſtigate

Henry's

Henry's ulcerated breaſt to repeat the crime, and find out more ſucceſsful Inſtruments of it: and two Engliſhmen, one of which ſerved in his life guards, and an Italian, were bribed to be the Aſſaſſins. The Scene laid for the murder was *Capranica*, whither the LEGATE was retired during the ſummer heats. But before the deſign was concerted, the Ruffians, who paſſed for Flemiſh Traders, were ſeized on a ſuſpicion they had raiſed of themſelves, by being obſerved to be very inquiſitive about the Governor's houſe; and two of them on a nearer inquiry, were diſcovered to be Engliſhmen. Being queſtioned ſeparately, and croſs-examined, they fell, firſt, into the groſſeſt contradictions, and, then, confeſſed who they were, and on what errand they had been ſent. A Letter was found on the Italian, which was to have been carried by one of the Engliſh Accomplices to *Caſſali*, a man of family, and Brother to one who had been remarkably active for the King, in the cauſe of the Divorce. It was penned in the true *Catiline* ſtyle, and informed *Caſſali*, he ſhould ſoon hear from him by word of mouth, concerning the affair to which he was already privy *.—This ſecond Act of Villainy being brought to light, the LEGATE would not have thoſe who were to have been the perpetrators, put to death: the injury, he ſaid was done to himſelf; he would, therefore, remit the puniſhment due to it; and only ſent the Criminals for a few days to the gallies †.

WHAT *Henry* could not effect by his Emiſſaries, he reſolved to execute himſelf, as far as lay within his reach; and though he could not plunge a poniard in the LEGATE's breaſt, he wounded him

* Qui ſim ex eo quem ad te miſi, cognoſces. SALLUST.
† Vita *Poli*, fol. 42, adverſâ pagina. Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 3ª, pag. 99, et ſeq

in a more ſenſible part than any which concerned his own perſon. About three years before
1539. the time I am ſpeaking of, Lord *Montague*, the LEGATE'S elder Brother, and others had been put to death, by a ſentence, in which ſome faint appearances of legal proceedings were ſaved. But the Parliament had likewiſe, attainted ſome other perſons of the higheſt quality, in whoſe cauſe even the farce of Juſtice was ſuperſeded; the moſt conſpicuous of which, on all accounts, was *Margaret*, Counteſs of *Saliſbury*, the LEGATE'S Mother. This quality, and her attachment to the Catholic Religion, were her only crimes. Such a cauſe, however, was too invidious to be alledged, even by one who had ſet himſelf above all reſtraint; and the Counteſs's conduct being blameleſs, ſomething was to be invented which the King's pleaſure might make high treaſon. On this, a report was ſpread, that ſhe had forbid her Dependants the uſe of the new tranſlation of the Bible into the Engliſh tongue, which was publiſhed by the Royal authority: that ſome Papal diſpenſations had been found at her Country ſeat, at *Coudray*, and that ſhe kept a correſpondence with her Son. On a Cabinet Scrutiny it was diſcovered that theſe Accuſations could not be made out; and, if they could, were inſufficient to form any thing capital againſt the Offender. A more ſummary method, therefore, was taken, which ſuited the King's temper, the ſlaviſh diſpoſition to which he had reduced all orders in the kingdom, and *Cromwell*'s readineſs to execute whatever he commanded. The queſtion was put to the Judges, by this Miniſter, whether the Parliament could attaint a perſon, within the realm, without trial, or citing the party to appear before them. Their anſwer was, that it would be of the moſt fatal conſequence, and that ſuch a doubt ought not to be moved;

moved; and they hoped the high Court of Parliament would never ſet the inferior Courts an example of ſuch unwarrantable proceedings. Being required to be more explicit in their anſwer, they delivered it as their opinion, that an attainder ſo paſſed could not be called in queſtion, but would remain good in law. This was all the information the King wanted: having learnt by this declaration that ſuch a meaſure, though contrary to all right, was yet practicable, he reſolved to employ it againſt the Counteſs; and *Cromwell*, on this occaſion, produced to the houſe of Peers a banner, on which was embroidered the Symbol of the northern Inſurgents, which he affirmed to have been found in her houſe. This was the guilt, and this the proof by which it was aſcertained. The Parliament, without any further enquiry, paſſed a bill of Attainder againſt her, and involved, without any better proof, as far as appears, *Gertrude* Marchioneſs of *Exeter*, and ſome more. The Marchioneſs was pardoned; Sir *Adrian Forteſcue*, and Sir *Thomas Dingley*, were put to death; but the Counteſs of *Saliſbury*'s execution was deferred for two years, till the time I am ſpeaking of, during which interval ſhe was confined in Priſon *. 25th *May*, 1541.

It was *Henry*'s cuſtom to treat thoſe with the greateſt rigour whom he had honoured moſt with his favour, as ſoon as they fell into diſgrace. To omit other inſtances, this inhumanity was remarkable in his behaviour towards the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, as appears from a letter that Prelate wrote to *Cromwell* whilſt he was priſoner in the Tower, in which he ſets forth the great want he was in of common neceſſaries †. But though I have met with no

* *Coke* 4th Inſtit. pag 37, et ſeq. *Rymer*, xiv. pag. 652. Lord *Herbert*'s life of *Henry* VIII. pag. 447, and 468.

† *Fuller*'s Ch. Hiſt.

particular detail of the hardſhips the Counteſs underwent in this long confinement, yet the known cruelty of the King's temper, the high degree of favour ſhe formerly enjoyed, the hatred he bore the LEGATE; even the proximity of blood in which ſhe ſtood related to him, and the undeſerved execution of her eldeſt ſon, Lord *Montague*, were all incentives of barbarity to a brutal nature. But what hurt his pride more than any thing elſe was an undaunted ſpirit, which ſhewed her ſuperior to all the attempts which were made to depreſs it, and never ſuffered her to be betrayed into any weakneſs, unworthy the whole tenor of a well-ſpent life. Her behaviour in theſe diſtreſſed circumſtances, as Lord *Herbert* relates, who ſays he had it from very good authority, was ſpirited and intrepid; and no arts could prevail on her to acknowledge a guilt, of which ſhe was not conſcious. For among the many hateful practices uſed by the Tyrant to extinguiſh, if poſſible, the eternal difference there will be between good and evil, and make their nature depend on his caprice, a principal one had always been that thoſe, whom he treated with the greateſt injuſtice, ſhould confeſs themſelves deſerving of what he inflicted on them, and ſue for mercy he did not intend to ſhew. Being brought to the Scaffold, this venerable Matron retained to the laſt the dignity of the long race of Monarchs from whom ſhe was deſcended, and of the cauſe in which ſhe died, and refuſed to lay her head on the block. The Executioner telling her, it was cuſtomary ſo to do; ſhe replied, it was ſo for Traitors, but ſhe was none; and, turning about her grey head, ſhe ſaid, if he would have it, he muſt get it as he could. At which he aimed ſeveral fruitleſs blows at her neck, and mangled her body in a ſhocking manner, till ſhe expired

pired at his feet. Her laſt words were, "Bleſſed are they who ſuffer perſecution for righteouſneſs ſake *.

THE Royal deſcent of this Lady, her marriage, and offspring have been ſpoken of in the beginning of this Work. Beſides theſe advantages, ſhe was endowed with all thoſe which conſtitute perſonal merit, and would have aſſured to her an uncommon regard from any Prince but him in whoſe reign ſhe lived. Her Brother the Earl of *Warwick*, had been baſely put to death by the King's Father, in order to get rid of a Prince, who was the lineal Heir to the Crown; and the Counteſs had ſucceeded to all his rights. The Princeſs *Mary*, *Henry*'s daughter, had been educated by her; and his firſt Wife, *Catharine* of *Aragon*, had honoured her with an unreſerved confidence. Yet all theſe claims to gratitude, love and reſpect, which met in the laſt of the *Plantagenets*, only contributed to make her finiſh her life in the 70th year of her age, by the hands of a common Executioner.

THE LEGATE was at *Viterbo* when the news was brought to him of this tragical event: and the manner in which he received it is related by his Secretary *Becatelli*; and is too particular not to be ſet down in the detail he has given us of it. "I was with him, ſays he, when he was informed of his Mother's death; and it was on the following occaſion. He had received ſeveral letters from *France*, *Spain*, and *Flanders*, and having read them, he called me, as his cuſtom was, to return the anſwers. As I was putting them together, I perceived one to be in Engliſh, and told him I need not take that with me, as I did not underſtand the language. To which he replied, without the leaſt emotion,

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, par. 3ª. pag. 76.

I could wiſh you did, that you might read the good news it contains; and on my replying, I hope your Excellence will make me a partaker of it; Hitherto, ſays he, I have thought myſelf indebted to the divine goodneſs, for having received my birth from one of the moſt noble and virtuous women in *England*; but, from henceforward, my obligation will be much greater, as I underſtand that I am now the Son of a Martyr. The King has cauſed her to be publickly beheaded for her conſtancy in the Catholic faith, though ſhe was ſeventy years of age; and, after his own Children, the neareſt to him in blood. This is the recompence he has thought fit to beſtow for the care of his Daughter's education, and long attendance on her: but may God's will be done, and may he, in all events, be thanked and praiſed. On my being ſeized with ſurprize and horror at this relation; Be of good courage, ſays he, we have now one Patron more added to thoſe we already had in Heaven. Having ſpoken this, he retired to a private Oratory, and having paſſed ſome time in prayer, he came out with his uſual chearfulneſs *."

On this incident of the LEGATE's behaviour on his Mother's violent death, I cannot but recall the behaviour of another great man on the loſs of a Daughter by a death, which, though untimely, was natural. The difference lets us ſee how much the Chriſtian Religion, where it is a real, not a nominal guide of ſentiment and action, made the former ſuperior to one of the moſt boaſted characters of pagan antiquity, and whoſe works were as familiar to him in his early years, as to any one of that claſſic age. The Roman Conſul, who forms this contraſt, had all the advantages which learning, and the uſe of public

* Vita *Poli*, fol. 44.

life

life could give to as fine a genius as Nature ever produced; and yet, when theſe ſuccours ſhould have enabled him to bear up againſt an unforeſeen affliction, and ſhew a wiſdom and ſteadineſs worthy ſuch an apparatus, they yield nothing but folly and weakneſs. Having given himſelf up to unmanly lamentation, he falls into childiſh impiety, and rejects the uſual cuſtom of raiſing a ſepulchral monument to *Tullia*'s memory, becauſe Αποθεωσις. that was inconſiſtent with her deification, on which he was wholly intent. *Tullia*, therefore, who died in childbed, was to be changed into a Goddeſs, and divine honours decreed her. And becauſe the credit of his new Divinity was not ſufficiently eſtabliſhed to draw her Votaries into groves and retirements, the Temple was to be erected by the high way, and expoſed to open veneration; and as private property is of a fluctuating nature, that this Memorial of extravagance and imbecillity might be perpetual, a Grant was to be purchaſed of the Roman People to build it on ground belonging to the Public. His friend *Atticus* is employed to procure the fineſt marble, and the moſt elegant deſigns. The fond Father compoſes the Act by which his Daughter is enrolled among the tutelar Divinities of *Rome*, addreſſes a prayer to her in that quality, and exhibits, in his own perſon, one of thoſe guilty inſtances, to which *the book* Ch. xiv. *of Wiſdom* aſcribes the origin of Idolatry *.—Such ver. 15. oppoſite diſpoſitions, in trials much the ſame, did the ſpirit of Chriſtianity, and that of pagan wiſdom, produce in two great men, who enjoyed every other advantage almoſt in common.

* Ep. ad. *Atticum.*

THE Chriſtian fortitude which the LEGATE ſhewed on this occaſion ſcarce ſeems capable of receiving any addition, by which the whole-burnt Offering could be more compleat: but his mind was of ſuch a caſt, as to think that practice of duty imperfect, which did not extend itſelf to every collateral act which could recommend it. Of this he gave a remarkable proof in the preſent caſe; for writing to the Cardinal of St. *Marcellus*; "your Excellence, ſays he, exhorts me to offer up my ſupplications for his change, who was the perpetrator of this butchery; in which you give me an inſtance of your friendſhip, and do as becomes the poſt you are in *. Was nothing more required to obtain this than the ſacrifice of my own life, it would be moſt deſirable to me to give this proof of my diſpoſition in his regard; and to give it immediately †."——In which ſingle ſentiment there is more true greatneſs of Soul, than in *Alexander*'s paſſing the *Granicus*, when *Darius*'s army covered the oppoſite banks, and diſputed the deſcent.

HAVING aſſured himſelf of the Chriſtian part of his heart, he conſiders his Mother's death in a view which diſcovers the common feelings of humanity; and preſents the Reader with a Philoſophy which is not out of his reach, though he ſhould give up all that which is propoſed in the foregoing example. "I comfort myſelf, ſays he, in another letter to *Silva*, Biſhop of *Lavadour*, in the calamities, under which the Chriſtian cauſe now labours, by reflecting that, at other periods, when affairs have ſeemed deſperate, a wiſe and good Pro-

* He was Grand Penitentiary.

† Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 3a, pag. 74.

vidence

vidence has brought them to a happy Iſſue, and I hope the like in our preſent circumſtances. From my diſpoſitions with reſpect to the Public, you may conjecture how I ſtand affected to what concerns myſelf. Nature, indeed, will ſometimes repine, and draw from me an involuntary ſigh, on the remembrance of perſons, in whom every motive of love and eſteem centred. But theſe ſorrows ceaſe, as ſoon as I have recourſe to that never failing ſource of comfort, which lies open to all. When I have done this, I not only feel myſelf eaſed of my preſent oppreſſion, but filled with joy: and, ſure, however cruel their caſe was, this unparalleled ſubject of conſolation remains, that they were deemed, by the Almighty, worthy to imitate his bleſſed Son, and ſign with their blood the truth of his doctrine. The Libels which have been publiſhed by their Adverſaries, ſet forth their religious tenets, firſt, as the cauſe of their diſgrace, and, then, of their death. I cannot, therefore, but look on them as tranſlated from the Evils of mortality, to that ſtate which alone deſerves the name of life; and ſhould be an enemy to their bliſs, if the want I feel of perſons who were dear to me, made me regret their having made ſo deſirable an exchange. This perſuaſion, in which I thoroughly acquieſce, is ſufficient to ſilence every contrary thought which riſes in my breaſt. But, if Nature ſtill requires the ſuccour of friendſhip and ſociety, this relief is, likewiſe, at hand in ſeveral perſons to whom I am more cloſely united than I could be by the mere tie of conſanguinity. Theſe compenſate the loſs I have ſuſtained, or cauſe it, at leaſt, to be leſs felt; and ſhould make all complaints ceaſe."

SECT.

SECT VI.

Errors and Disorders, which gave occasion to the Council of Trent.

CARDINAL POLE *presides at it.*

Heads of the Decrees. Incidents during the Sessions.

IT was a felicity which attended the destiny of CARDINAL POLE, to have the different parts he was to discharge disposed in such a manner, as to give him an opportunity of rising in character as he advanced in years; and not finish the course of his life, till he had answered all those views by which Providence was pleased to distinguish it. Like a great River, which rises from a clear and copious source, though it brings wealth and fruitfulness down its whole Channel, yet collects a larger stream the nearer it approaches its junction with the Ocean; the youth and several periods of the CARDINAL's riper age, still received some fresh commendation, which made him more valuable in himself, and more useful to Mankind; or, where his endeavours of the latter kind failed, shewed his dispositions to no less advantage than if they had been attended with success. The expectation he raised at the University of *Oxford*, was, afterwards, confirmed, by the fund of knowledge, and of a yet more valuable qualification, Integrity, which he brought from *Padua*, and enabled him to resist all the solicitations of a powerful King, and the allurements of a corrupt Court to ensnare his virtue, and make him prefer the gratification of ambition to the dictates of duty. When advanced to the Purple, he drew up that memorable

memorable plan of Reformation, which deſerved the approbation I have already mentioned. His Embaſſies to the French and Imperial Courts, though unſucceſsful, afforded him an opportunity of diſplaying qualities, which are only exerted in diſappointment; and convey the moſt uſeful of all leſſons, a ſuitable carriage in adverſe fortune. Theſe public employments were ſucceeded by the Government of a large Province, where left to his own conduct, he made it appear, that no foreign guidance was wanting to direct and encourage him in whatever was great and laudable. There was ſomething peculiar which diſtinguiſhed each of the diviſions I have treated of, and, like the principal figures of a fine picture, ſtood out and commanded an attention to itſelf. The countenance he gave to merit, and the life of his friend *Longolius*, which he wrote with great elegance at the age of four and twenty, made him remarked during his ſtay at *Padua*. His refuſal of the See of *York*, when offered on terms not conſiſtent with honour and religion, drew on him the eyes of his own Country, almoſt as ſoon as he returned to it. The manner of paſſing his time at *Liege* and *Carpentras*; his behaviour at his Mother's death; his attention to the different departments of his Government, have been too circumſtantially related, to ſtand in need of a recapitulation.

The period I am now come to, ſaw him at the head of one of the moſt illuſtrious Aſſemblies mankind had ever beheld; and met on an occaſion well deſerving the attention of ſuch a Senate, the Reformation of the Chriſtian World. But before I enter on a detail of this Meeting, and of the Part which He, who is the ſubject of this Hiſtory, had in it, it may be requiſite to ſay ſomething of the ſtate of *Europe*, with reſpect to morals and religion, which made this expedient

dient then neceſſary in order to check the diſorders, which already prevailed, and prevent ſtill further evils with which Chriſtianity was threatened.

A Reformation was not more deſired at the time I am ſpeaking of, in which a General Council was called to effect it, than it had been in paſt ages, when any remarkable degeneracy ſeemed to ſully them. It has been a theme, on which wiſe and good men, of all times, have expatiated; and their complaints, on this head, have informed us that the moral ſtate of Mankind never came up to the ideas and wiſhes of the thoroughly virtuous. Some of them have either aſſigned reaſons for the prevalent diſorders, which fell more immediately under their obſervation, drawn from the temper of their own minds; or have aſcribed to one or few cauſes, thoſe effects which were the reſult of many. The Church of *Rome*, which, through ſo many centuries, had maintained Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline no leſs by her example, than the pre-eminence of her See, had in ſucceeding times, not been exempt from theſe cenſures. To go up no higher than the twelfth Century, St. *Bernard*, who lived in it, and never failed to warn all orders of men of a decay of piety, thought this Mother Church tainted with the general contagion. His work *on Conſideration* addreſſed to a great Pope, who had been his Diſciple, ſufficiently ſhews what his opinion was of the Court of *Rome*, and his zeal to reform it.

The diſorders had ſince increaſed; and a celebrated Prelate of the following age, being ordered by the Pope to prepare the matters which were to be diſcuſſed in the Council of *Vienna*, makes the Reformation of the Church in its Head and Members, the ground work of this under-

undertaking *. The grand Schiſm, which happened about the ſame time, made its neceſſity appear in a ſtill ſtronger light, and not only private perſons, but General Councils have acknowledged it. Nothing can ſurpaſs the energy of ſome diſcourſes on this ſubject, pronounced in thoſe of *Piſa*, *Conſtance* and *Bale*: in the latter of which the moſt promiſing hopes were eluded, and new ſubjects of complaint added to the former. But, to bring the Caſe ſtill nearer the Epoch I am to treat of, the remonſtrance made on this head to *Eugenius* IV. by the greateſt perſonage of the fifteenth century, and a member of the ſacred college, has more the air of prophecy than of mere human foreſight †.

THE diſorders, ſays he, of the Clergy, and chiefly of thoſe of *Germany*, of which he had ſeen too many melancholy inſtances whilſt he was LEGATE there, provoke the hatred of the people againſt that Order: and if a ſtop be not put to them, it is to be feared they will make good their threats of giving us no better treatment than we received from the *Huſſites*; he foretells, that if this amendment does not ſpeedily take place, the Hereſy of the *Bohemians* would be followed by another ſtill more dangerous, becauſe the People would look on the Clergy as incorrigible. The expectation of Mankind, ſays he, is big with what is to happen, and ſeems to forebode ſomething tragical. Their ill diſpoſitions towards us are already but too viſible; and, in a ſhort time, it will be deemed a grateful ſacrifice to the Almighty, to perſecute and turn us out of our poſſeſſions,

* *Guil. Durandus*, Epiſ. Mim. tract. de modo Gener. Conc. celebrandi

† Epiſt. 1[2]. *Juliani Ceſarini* Card. ad *Eugen.* IV. P. M. inter Op. *Æn. Silvii*, p. 66.

as

as perſons equally hateful to God and Man. The ſlender remains of reſpect for the ſacred Miniſtry will ſoon vaniſh, and the blame of theſe diſorders be caſt on the Church of *Rome*, for not applying a remedy. He ſaw the Axe laid to the root; that the tree was leaning to its fall, and inſtead of propping it, whilſt it was yet time, its deſtruction was haſtened.

But it muſt be obſerved, that not one of theſe great men, who ſo earneſtly deſired the reformation of the Church, ever entertained a thought of changing a ſingle Article of her Faith, or aboliſhing any part of her worſhip: and when turbulent and ſeditious ſpirits preſumed to cenſure her tenets, or diſpute the Authority of her Paſtors, and particularly of her chief Biſhop, they roſe up in defence of what an uninterrupted tradition had delivered down to them; and looked on a breach with the Catholic Church, as the greateſt of all Evils. All their zeal was to correct abuſes, which had vitiated the primitive diſcipline; and recall the piety and purity of manners, from which Chriſtians of all orders were univerſally fallen *.

THE Evils, which have been related, were not peculiar to one nation; and on whatever ſide an accurate obſerver caſt his eye, he beheld Chriſtianity expoſed to equal danger from different cauſes, which are the growth of Climate, and ſeem conſtitutional to whole States; and though they were utterly oppoſite to each other, yet each ſeemed to threaten the faith and morality of the Goſpel with equal ruin: as buildings periſh by earthquakes, inundations, fire and hoſtile rage, or are permitted, by the lazineſs of the Inhabitants, to fall down and moulder to nothing. The eaſe

* St.. *Ber.* ſerm. 65, and 66, in Canticum Salomonis. *Gerſon,* ſerm. de Aſcen. Dom. habitus coram *Alex.* V. P. M. *&c.*

and

and opulence which the Clergy had long enjoyed, brought on thoſe inconveniencies which always attend immoderate wealth, though lodged in conſecrated hands. On whatever motives the Croiſades, or holy wars, were undertaken, they had a miſchievous effect on the morals of the greateſt part of *Europe*, and the age we are now to enter on, had drained all the dregs which abſence of Biſhops from their Dioceſes, the relaxation of canonical penitence, and the importation of foreign vices, added to the evils of war in general, had left behind them. A gloomy, unprofitable, and litigious kind of learning had taken poſſeſſion of the Schools, to which all ſenſible Antiquity, both ſacred and profane, had been a ſtranger; which anſwered no purpoſe of Religion or Reaſon, and baniſhed every purſuit which tended to promote the intereſts of either: and when Mankind, awakened from a trance of ſome Centuries, during which the tares of falſe Science had been ſowed by pedantry and every enemy to the improvement and ornament of the human mind, and true taſte and literature were now revived, the cauſe of Religion had a new and hitherto unknown foe to ſtruggle with, which was the abuſe of this very advantage. For though it muſt be acknowledged, that ſeveral of thoſe to whom the World is indebted for this bleſſing, were no leſs irreproachable Chriſtians, than men of exquiſite learning, yet the number of thoſe of a contrary character was very great.

I SHALL preſent the Reader with one inſtance of this kind, as it ſhews how far the frenzy of learning may go. *Pomponius Lætus* was one of the firſt Reſtorers of letters, and public profeſſor of eloquence at *Rome*, under *Sixtus* IV. and *Innocent* VIII. His lectures were ſo crowded, that, whereas he began them early, the benches were generally filled by midnight. He confined all

all his knowledge within the bounds of the Roman Commonwealth and Empire, and was totally ignorant of almoſt every thing which was not compriſed there. He had no knowledge of the Greek tongue; and could never be prevailed on to learn it, leſt it ſhould prejudice the purity of his ſtyle in the Latin. He knew nothing of the holy Scriptures, nor of the writings of the Fathers, and had read few Authors who have wrote ſince the Fall of the Roman Empire. He carried his idolatry to this people ſo far, that, not content to celebrate the anniverſary of the building of *Rome* with ceremony, and to erect altars to *Romulus*, he had the impiety to deſpiſe the Chriſtian Religion, and to ſpeak of it as fit only for *Barbarians*. This extravagance was common to him and ſeveral of the Learned of thoſe times, who were ſo intoxicated with the beauties of the Latin language, that they conceived a religious reverence for every thing which had any relation to the people who ſpoke it; and a contempt of whatever had not the ſtamp of pagan antiquity.

To theſe diſadvantages, under which Chriſtianity then laboured, the fifteenth Century had likewiſe the misfortune to ſee moſt of the Popes, during that period altogether unworthy the ſupreme place they held; and their Court, inſtead of giving that example, which the World had a right to expect from it, was infected with vices, which, like a torrent, ſpread themſelves over all Nations.

These general cauſes of the neceſſity of a Reformation were quickened into birth by the following event. The grant of Indulgences had been as ancient as Chriſtianity; and is founded on a merciful God's condeſcenſion to the weakneſs of human nature. For an involuntary tendency to evil, being the unhappy lot of mankind,

kind, ſince our firſt Parents forfeited the original rectitude, in which they were created, our gracious Maker is frequently pleaſed to remit the guilt of Sin, and the eternal puniſhment which is incurred by it, and yet exact of the Sinner thoſe temporary chaſtiſements, by which the divine juſtice is atoned, and the Offender rendered for the future more cautious. This doctrine, ſo conſonant to goodneſs and wiſdom, is often aſſerted and exemplified in holy Writ, and particularly in the Hiſtory of *David*, who had no ſooner teſtified the ſincerity of his repentance for the double crime of Adultery and Murder, than the Prophet was ordered by Almighty God to inform him, that his guilt was remitted, but, nevertheleſs, that the Son, who was the fruit of it ſhould die. The Church, to which the ample promiſe was made by her Founder, that, "whatever ſhe looſed on Earth ſhould be looſed in Heaven," has ever underſtood this commiſſion to extend not only to the abſolving the Guilty, on ſufficient tokens of their repentance; but to preſcribe and mitigate the puniſhment by which ſin is cancelled. In the firſt ages of Chriſtianity, when great Crimes were rare, the canonical penitence impoſed for ſuch faults was long and laborious; and the primitive Church had been in poſſeſſion of abridging it at the recommendation of the Martyrs, and others who had ſignalized themſelves in the cauſe of JESUS CHRIST. This practice, as it is an illuſtrious proof of the antiquity and lawfulneſs of Indulgences, ſo the uſe which was made of it in thoſe early days, was very temperate, nor granted without great diſcernment. This is evident from the vigour with which St. *Cyprian* and other Prelates, oppoſed thoſe who procured ſurreptitious recommendations from the Martyrs, in order to diminiſh the ſtated time and rigour of their penitential exerciſes, and be reconciled ſooner

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than was expedient. But the wiſdom of this œconomy was, afterwards, laid aſide, and endleſs abuſes aroſe from a pretext of aiding Sinners to expiate their tranſgreſſions.

THE ſcandalous traffic of theſe grants was the glaring diſorders of thoſe times, and had raiſed ſuch a general diſcontent in all Orders, as endangered the grace itſelf, and the authority which conferred it, to fall into contempt. *Leo* X. had cauſed Indulgences to be publiſhed throughout the Chriſtian world for all perſons who contributed to the building St. *Peter*'s Church, on which magnificent ſtructure he was wholly intent; and towards carrying on a war which he had projected againſt the Turk. This publication had occaſioned a warm diſpute between the *Auſtin* and *Dominican* Fryars. The former who had hitherto been in poſſeſſion of the commiſſion, were piqued that *Dominicans* ſhould, on this occaſion, be preferred to them; and *John Staupitz*, their Vicar General, ordered *Martin Luther*, a Monk of the order, to preach in oppoſition to their Rivals. It muſt be allowed, that ſome of the latter laid themſelves open to cenſure, by the exorbitant propoſitions they advanced concerning the efficacy of theſe pardons; and *Luther* was a proper perſon to avail himſelf of ſuch an advantage. He began by blaming the abuſe, and then proceeded to condemn the thing; and to ſpeak of the Papal power in ſuch a manner as ſeveral Catholic Divines, amongſt whom *Echius* diſtinguiſhed himſelf, thought themſelves obliged to oppoſe him. This reſiſtance irritated the haughty ſpirit of *Luther*, and he continued to make freſh attacks on different Articles of the ancient doctrine, and to diſcredit it in the minds of the people.

THE Pope being informed of the flame which was kindled in *Germany*, cauſed the Author of it to be cited to make his appearance at *Rome*; and or-

ordered Cardinal *Cajetan*, who was his Legate at the Diet of *Auſburg*, to uſe all methods to reclaim a turbulent Monk, who threatened the Church with dangerous diviſions. If he remained obſtinate, the Legate was ordered to ſeize his perſon; and, if that could not be effected, to excommunicate him and all who adhered to his errors, and to lay all places which afforded him a retreat, under an Interdict. *Luther*, on this, being provided with a ſafe conduct from the Emperor, came to *Auſburg*, and having had ſeveral conferences with the Legate, in which he maintained whatever he had hitherto advanced, he retired to a place of greater ſafety. The breach became every day wider, and a multitude of erroneous tenets were publiſhed, from time to time, either in his ſermons, or his works. As novelty has always attractives for ſuperficial and curious minds, his books were greedily read by great numbers even of the learned, who took up with the doctrine contained in them: and the vulgar was eaſily miſled by the ſpecious name of a Reformation, which he made a profeſſion to introduce; and by retrenching auricular confeſſion, and bodily auſterities, under a pretext of aſſerting to his Proſelytes that liberty to which the Goſpel entitled them. The Duke of *Saxony* declared himſelf his Protector; other conſiderable perſonages adopted his opinion; and the whole Germanic Body began to be divided in point of Religion. 1508.

Leo was of opinion that this ferment would ſubſide of itſelf, and that it was not adviſeable to give the Mover of it a Reputation by taking any further notice of him, or occaſion his caſting himſelf into ſtill more deſperate meaſures, from which there would be no regreſs. But *Echius* repreſented with ſuch energy the deſolation which his errors had cauſed throughout *Germany*, that the Pope referred the buſineſs to a celebrated Committee of Cardinals, Biſhops, Divines, and Canoniſts, who

debated a considerable time rather on the form, in which the censure should be drawn up, than on the censure itself, on which they were all agreed. At length they came to a resolution to condemn *Luther's* doctrine as heretical, and prescribed the term within which his books were to be burnt. In the mean time, he was left at full liberty to pass condemnation on them, and was summoned to appear in person.

15th *June* 1520. THIS resolution being taken, the Pope passed a Decree, by which one and forty Articles, extracted from his Works, concerning original sin, penitence, the remission of sins, the Eucharist, the Papal power, the authority of a general Council, indulgences, good works, free will, purgatory, excommunications, the alms on which mendicant Fryars subsisted, were condemned as respectively heretical, false, scandalous, pernicious, and contrary to Catholic doctrine. *Luther*, on this, reiterated his appeal to a future Council, and entreated the Emperor and all Magistrates to interest themselves in the authority of that Assembly, which he pretended was the only competent Judge in Religious Controversies. Several German Princes and States joined in this Appeal, and called aloud for a Council, from views inconsistent with the end, for which it was to be held, in hopes of obtaining vigorous resolutions against the Clergy, whose jurisdiction they looked on as a diminution of their own, and whose wealth they coveted. As the designs were sinister, the means by which they were to be compassed, were suited to such purposes: they would have a Council composed not of Bishops and Priests only, as had hitherto been the practice of the Church, but of lay persons also, who should give blindly into their measures. The general ignorance of the common people with respect to Religion, and the little regard they paid to what they knew of it, disposed

difpofed them to the fame perverfenefs, and they likewife were inftructed to confider this great meeting as a means to eafe themfelves of feveral fees, which were looked on as Exactions, and which they wanted a pretext to get rid of.

The liberty which *Luther*, and all other Reformers, after his example, allowed themfelves of interpreting Scripture by their own private judgment, gave birth to a variety of Sects, and armed them againft one another no lefs than againft the Catholic Church: and *Gregory Pauli*, having revived in *Poland* the impiety of *Michael Servetus*'s doctrine concerning the Trinity, had the infolence to caufe a Temple to be painted, the roof of which was uncovered by *Luther*, the walls pulled down by *Calvin*, and the foundation fapped by himfelf.

In the midft of this confufion *Leo* died: He had defired to procure fome remedy to Evils which he faw increafe every day, but in the difpofition *Europe* then was, he thought a General Council would be a hazardous expedient; and he feared what fuch an Affembly might undertake concerning a reform of the Court of *Rome*, which he was unwilling fhould be fubmitted to any infpection but his own.

The two fucceeding Pontiffs, *Adrian* V. and *Clement* VII. continued to be witneffes of the divifions, which troubled the peace of the Church, and of the corruptions which had been the occafion, and ferved as a pretence for them. As thefe innovations had begun by fome abufes in the grant of Indulgences, *Adrian*, who was an able Divine, thought of fetting forth the doctrine relating to them in fuch a manner as to remove whatever had given offence; and having laid afide this defign, he was advifed to re-eftablifh the ufe of public penitence, as it had been practifed thro' many ages with great profit: but was informed by thofe he confulted, that the depraved ftate of Chriftianity

rendered the execution of it abſolutely impracticable. He complained to *Soderino*, his friend and confidant, of the ſlender diſpoſition he found, even in the officers of his own Court, to reform ſeveral unwarrantable practices, which cauſed the Innovators to ſay, that every thing was venal at *Rome*. The Cardinal who had been employed under the three laſt Popes, *Alexander*, *Julius*, and *Leo*, repreſented to him, that in the ſituation things then were, thoſe meaſures which in other circumſtances might ſeem adviſeable, would then only ſerve to make the Diſturbers of the public tranquillity more inſolent, and heighten their Credit with the people: that they would look on the intended reformation as a conceſſion of the abuſes they had complained of, and inſtead of being ſatisfied with what he ſhould do in order to remedy Evils, which length of time had never failed to introduce, would go on to demand other eſſential changes, and thus throw every thing into confuſion.

Clement, his Succeſſor, of the houſe of *Medici*, who had been uſed to Courts, made uſe of that addreſs which is there acquired; but to as little purpoſe as *Adrian* had employed zeal and learning; and *Paul* III, who ſucceeded him, began his Pontificate by reminding the Cardinals of the ſolemn engagement they all had taken on entering the Conclave, that whoever was choſen Pope, ſhould call a general Council within two years after his election. He entreated them not to wait the expiration of the term prefixed; but, as the reformation of Chriſtianity was to begin by the Eccleſiaſtical order, to ſet ſuch an example in their own perſons, as might ſerve to edify the Church, and ſilence the cenſure of thoſe who had left her communion. He let no conſiſtory paſs, during the eight years of his pontificate, without preſſing this point; and made ſome fruitleſs efforts to comply with his engagement of aſſembling a general Council. It

It was now five and twenty years ſince *Luther* had begun an open defection from the Catholic Church. Several Diets which had been held in the Empire, at the chief of which the Popes Legates had preſided; the repeated conferences of the Popes with the Emperors, and the regulations publiſhed by the former, had done little more than let the World ſee the acknowledged neceſſity there was of them, and the ſmall effect they produced. During theſe conſultations the new opinions had ſtill continued to make ſome freſh breach on the received belief of all Antiquity, and gain over new proſelytes.

Frederic, Elector of *Saxony*, *John Frederick* his ſucceſſor, and *Philip Landgrave* of *Heſſe*, became *Luther*'s Diſciples. Their reſpective ſtates embraced the tenets of their Sovereigns. *Guſtavus*, King of *Sweden*, declared himſelf in favour of the ſame doctrine, and ſeized the Church revenues of his Dominions, within ten years after *Luther*'s firſt appearance. *Chriſtiern*, King of *Denmark*, followed his example, and having baniſhed the Epiſcopal order, he entered on their poſſeſſions, and appointed Overſeers to diſcharge their functions: and, about the ſame time, *Lutheraniſm* was introduced into *Hungary*, *Miſnia*, *Thuringia*, and the Electorate of *Brandenburg*, and the Brethren of *Bohemia* revived into that kingdom the errors of the *Huſſites*. *Poland* was ſo giddy with a continual rotation of Doctrine, that the Synod of *Scrinia*, held a few years after the time I am ſpeaking of, came to this wild reſolution of allowing every one to believe as he thought proper; and, at the laſt day, it would appear who had been in the right. This was the only clue they found to extricate themſelves out of a Labyrinth, in which the enormous licentiouſneſs of new Opinions had bewildered them: for, in the *Anti-trinitarian* party alone, there were

two and thirty Sects, which agreed in nothing, but denying the Divinity of the Son of God. Half the Swiſs Cantons had received *Zuinglius*'s Articles, at the conference of *Bern*, and cauſed a Pillar to be raiſed, and the day and year of the abolition of the Catholic faith to be recorded on it, in letters of gold: but they declared, that though they received the new religion, they reſerved to themſelves the freedom of adding or retrenching what they thought fit. The *Anabaptiſts* appeared at the ſame time under different Leaders, and made no account of the Sacraments or exterior worſhip of religion. Under a neglected outſide, which went even to filth, they concealed a violent and ambitious ſpirit, and were always in arms againſt the temporal and ſpiritual powers. Their revolt began among the Clowns in *Suabia*, and not only communicated itſelf to all the neighbouring Provinces and the Low Countries; but, ſo bewitching, in thoſe days of deception, was the ſpirit of error, in proportion as it was abſurd, that in *Switzerland* it proved almoſt an over-match to the more moderate Fanaticiſm there eſtabliſhed.

Whilst theſe and the like Extravagancies ſhook Religion in *Germany* to its very Centre, *France* had drank deep of *Calvin*'s ſpirit; which likewiſe had ſo far infected not only the religious but the civil principles of great numbers in *Italy*, and particularly in the Kingdom of *Naples*, that a few years after the period I am ſpeaking of, the Vice-roy was obliged to oppoſe them with open force. The Author, in many reſpects reſembled *Luther*: like him, he had thoſe qualities which give vogue to an Innovator, extreme boldneſs in advancing new opinions, and invincible obſtinacy in maintaining them; indefatigable induſtry; ſufficient eloquence to captivate ſuperficial minds;

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knowledge enough to impofe on pretenders to learning, and too much vanity ever to acknowledge he had been in a miftake. After having fet forth his tenets by word of mouth, he publifhed his Inftitutes, which are a collection of them; and, though in general he agrees with *Luther*, yet he often goes beyond his Mafter. It has been already feen, in what manner the defection of one of the faireft portions of the Catholic Church, was the effect of the luft and avarice of one defpotic Tyrant. But the Reformation, as it was every where termed, though purfued through endlefs changes, was fo far from producing any amendment, that the Morals of thofe who relinquifhed the old Religion, became vifibly more degenerate; and, to inftance a ftriking effect which this progreffive depravity had on fome of the Spectators, the Lutheran Magiftrates of the Imperial Cities petitioned *Charles* V. to caufe *Auricular Confeffion* to be re-eftablifhed by his authority, as the people were remarkably more licentious fince it had been difufed.

The rapid progrefs of all thefe jarring opinions was foon reprefented by *Luther*, and fome of his Followers, as an argument of their truth, and even as a declaration of Heaven in their favour: but fuch opinions found encouragement enough in all the paffions of the mind of man, without exception, to make their fuccefs as little wonderful, as their origin was honourable. The caufes could not be more natural, and nothing was lefs requifite than a miracle, to give vogue to doctrines which coincided with all the corrupt inclinations of human nature. When Monafteries are thrown open, and Priefts and Religious of both fexes exempted from the obfervance of their vows, no confiderate perfon will wonder that many of them fhould fay, "let us choofe for ourfelves a Leader, and go back into *Ægypt*." The fame muft be faid

Numbers, ch. xiv.

ſaid of the Laity who were eaſed of many painful obſervances of Church diſcipline, faſts, confeſſion, and penitence; and carnal ſouls, of which the Chriſtian world was then full, readily received carnal inſtructions. At the ſame time, as we have ſeen, the wealth of the Church became every where the plunder of thoſe who renounced the authority. The Myſteries of Religion, tho' propoſed to our underſtanding with all the evidence of light and truth, are ſtill incomprehenſible; and muſt always be the object of faith rather than knowledge, as being little conſonant to reaſon and to the experience of our ſenſes; and this caſts curious and preſumptuous minds into error and impiety. The Proſelytes of the new Sects were, moreover, allowed to be the Arbitrators of their own belief, and, though no pretenſion could be more extravagant, yet it flattered their vanity, and left them at large *to prophecy ſmooth things* to every corruption of their heart. The ſacred obſcurity in which the Euchariſt is veiled, was particularly marked out as an impoſition on human reaſon: and the doctrines concerning it, were brought down to the teſt of our ſenſes. The diſorders of Churchmen had ſtirred up an indiſcreet and bitter zeal, which ended in ſchiſm and revolt. Thus, as has been ſaid, the Sectaries having found the method of inliſting into their cauſe all the various weakneſſes of human nature, and having accommodated their opinions to ſprings of action which are ſo univerſal and prevalent, their progreſs has nothing more extraordinary than that of *Mahomet*, who took the like method.

Three Pontificates, as has been ſaid, had already paſſed in projects of a General Council, and a fourth was entered on with the ſame irreſolution. Cardinal Pole was in the ſecond

year

year of his government of *Viterbo*, when *Sadolet* wrote to him on the preſent proſpect of affairs in the following manner: “If you knew, ſays he, what was the ſubject of almoſt all converſations, you would pine with the ſame inward anguiſh which conſumes me. Perhaps, indeed, you are informed of it, ſince what is talked of in every circle, and by people of all ranks, cannot be any longer a ſecret. All that is blameable, redounds to his diſhonour, whom we revere and love, and to whom we have the higheſt obligations. I will not deſcend to particulars, that I may not increaſe my own ſorrow and renew yours. This muſt be evident to a common obſerver, that whatever goes amiſs in Chriſtianity, is immediately imputed to us: and the readineſs Mankind ſhew in this accuſation, betrays the too general prejudice which prevails againſt us *.” Theſe complaints which came to the Pope from all ſides, and from none louder than the Emperor and the whole Germanic Body, ſeemed, at length to have determined him to put off no longer, the only remedy which was adequate to the greatneſs of the Evil. A Diet of the Empire being held in 1542, at *Spire*, gave his Legate an opportunity of conferring with the Princes and Deputies of the States

* Qui ſi noſſes quæ nunc ſint rumoribus hominum pervulgata, etſi ea fortaſſe ſcis, non enim obſcura ſunt, ſed paſſim in circulis anguliſque omnibus jactantur, dolore animi mecum unà tabeſceres. Erumpunt porro omnia in illius caput et nomen, quem nos et veneramur et diligimus, et cujus beneficiis maximè obſtricti ſumus. Quæ ego non commemorabo, ne et augeam dolorem meum, et tibi mœſtitiam afferam. Illud certè patet et perſpicum eſt, quidquid eveniat in Republica Chriſtiana adverſi atque mali, de eo ſtatim homines culpam in nos et crimen conferre paratos eſſe: ut occultari diſſimularique non poſſit quæ ſit omnium mortalium de nobis et de moribus noſtris planè jam exiſtimatio. *Jac. Sad.* Card. Epiſt. lib. 13. ep. 6. *Lugd.* edit. anni 156.

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there aſſembled, on ſome Preliminaries, which might contribute to render the future Council more ſalutary, and the City of *Trent*, among other places, being propoſed for the meeting, it was accepted by the Catholic powers. The others objected to this choice, and to any Aſſembly, in which the Papal authority intervened. This was to begin by ſchiſm what was deſigned to put an end to it. The decree, however, paſſed, by which the Council was ſummoned for the beginning of *November*.

THE City of *Trent* is ſituated very advantageouſly on the Frontier of *Germany* and *Italy*, and abounds with all kinds of proviſions and merchandiſe. It is very well built in general, and yields to few in *Germany* for the largeneſs and conveniency of its houſes, and places of public entertainment. The river *Atheſis* which waſhes its walls, waters a part of *Italy*, and loſes itſelf in the *Adriatic* gulf. Though the City be ſurrounded with high mountains, which the ancients call the *Alps* of *Trent*, the air is wholeſome on account of the coolneſs cauſed by the ſnows which always cover them; and the Woods, which grow on their ſides, temper the ſummer ſun, which darts his beams with exceſſive violence on this vale. No place could be more convenient for holding the Council, it being the Centre, as it were, of *Italy*, *Germany* and *France*; and not being ſubject to any Sovereign, thoſe who diſſented from the Church of *Rome* had no pretext for the fears, under which they diſguiſed their real averſion to appear before this auguſt Aſſembly. The Biſhop is both the Spiritual and Temporal Lord; and, at the time I am ſpeaking of, both Juriſdictions were executed by Cardinal *Madruccio*, a *German*. 1ſt *Nov.* 1542.

THE Legates nominated by the Pope to open the Council and preſide at it, were the Cardinals

Paul

Paul Parisius, a celebrated Doctor of the Canon Law; *John Moran*, who had been lately honoured with the Purple, on account of his eminent services in *Germany*, and was remarkable for his probity and skill in the management of business; and Reginald Pole, who to the advantages of Royal extraction, innocence and prudence, was known to the Northern nations for his lenity, and esteemed and beloved by them for it. The Patent for their commission being made out, the Pope ordered them, when they were come to *Trent*, to treat with the Prelates and Embassadors they found there, of general matters, without entering on any particular points till they had his further instructions. He enjoined them, also, to notify to all Sovereigns, the commission they were charged with; to exhort them to send the Prelates of their respective Dominions to the Council; to cause the Summons to be affixed to the great doors of the Cathedral, that all persons might be informed. He ordered them not to enter into any contest, before the beginning of the Council, with those who had left the Catholic Communion, but to treat them with great moderation; and, lastly, not to open the Council till a competent number of Bishops were arrived from *Italy*, *Germany*, *France* and *Spain*.

On the first notification, the Emperor, who was at *Madrid*, ordered *Mendoza*, his Embassador at *Venice*, *Granvelle*, and his Son, who was then Bishop of *Arras*, to go, on his part, to *Trent*, with some Bishops of the Kingdom of *Naples*. As the war then raged between him and *Francis* I. *Charles* foresaw that none of the Ends, for which the Council met, would be obtained; but he was desirous nothing might pass to his prejudice.

The Pope, likewise, caused some Italian Prelates to set out; and those who were sent on the Emperor's part, being come within the time pre-

prescribed, they made very pressing instances for the opening the Council; which the Legates refused, alledging the small number of Bishops, who were present; and the din of war with which they were alarmed on all sides. To this *Granvelle* replied, that, in the mean time, measures might be entered on for a reformation of manners, which would not find the same difficulties, to which other debates were liable. But the Legates answered, that as all Christian states were interested in this affair, it could not be discussed till their Representatives were arrived; and they sent an account of this demand to *Rome*. The Pope's proceeding decided the question, for he ordered the Legates to leave *Trent*, at the beginning of the following year, within a few months
1543. after the meeting, and adjourned the Council to another time *.

THIS abrupt breaking up of an Assembly, which had been so long desired, and was so much wanted, gave the English LEGATE a very sensible affliction, for writing to the Pope two years after, when it was resumed again; "My personal obligations, says he, and the affection and reverence I bear your Holiness will not allow me to be silent on an occasion, which redounds so much to your honour. My joy is the greater as I reflect on our last ignominy, when being called together by your authority, in order to celebrate a general Council, and being dismissed without having effected any of the things we met on, many upbraided us in the words of *Jeremy*, *the Children were come to the mouth of the womb, but strength was wanting to bring them forth.* But now the Council is opened again, we not only hope that this reproach will cease, and we be intitled to say,

* *Ciacon.* in vitis Pontif. l. 3. *Belcar.* in comment. l. 23. *Pallav*, *Thuanus*, ad hunc annum.

the

the Lord has been mindful of *Rachael* and bleſſed her with fruitfulneſs; but that there will be ſuch an abundance of divine favour, as may enable us to invite all, who have the cauſe of Chriſtianity at heart, in the words of the ſame Prophet, to partake of the comforts which have ſucceeded ſuch laſting ſorrow and diſappointment *."

DURING this prorogation the CARDINAL returned to his Government of *Viterbo*; and, the following year, he was deprived of a Friend, who had given him ſuch inſtances of attachment as true hiſtory has ſeldom equalled, or fiction ſurpaſſed. This was the Biſhop of *Verona*, by whoſe death *Italy*, or, to ſpeak more properly, *Europe*, loſt one of her moſt deſerving Prelates and beſt Citizens. The Reader need not be here reminded of the early diſcovery he made of our Countryman's merit, the labours he ſhared with him in his Embaſſies, and the proofs he never ceaſed to give him of a generous and uſeful friendſhip. Being on his death-bed, he confirmed his paſt judgment of the Engliſh CARDINAL's worth, for knowing how much his fortune was inadequate to his rank and occaſions, he bequeathed to him a yearly penſion of 2,000 Ducats, which he had a grant to transfer, on the Biſhoprick of *Granada*, and another benefice in the Church of *Valentia*, of the yearly value of 800 more. The ſingular encouragement given to letters by this illuſtrious Prelate, gained him the good will and commendation of *Eraſmus* †, and *Sadolet* ‡; the latter of whoſe letters to him are writ with ſuch

* Epiſt. Car. *Poli*, t. 4. epiſ. 17.

† Præſuli iſti *Veronenſi (Matthæo Giberti)* benefaxerint omnes Superi, qui de privato ſuo curat utilitatem publicam, ſuiſque impenſis parat tam inſigne beneficium ſtudioſis omnibus. *Eraſm.* ep. l. 25. *Germ. Bria.* et alibi.

‡ Epiſt. pag. 9, 110, 112, 113.

a ſenſe

a ſenſe of his uncommon and univerſal worth, that, were other monuments wanting, they alone muſt conſign his name to the lateſt poſterity. *Vida* has conſecrated his memory by a very elegant Poem *, and *Bembo* calls the choiceſt bleſſings to honour and reward a merit, of which there were few Examples †.

WHILST the general welfare of Chriſtianity was at a ſtand from conſiderations which ought not to have influenced their conduct, who were entruſted with the chief government of it; all the vigour which the ſpirit of deſtruction can give was exerted by him, who had aſſumed the headſhip of the Church in *England*. *Henry*, three years after the act of cruelty exerciſed on the Counteſs of *Saliſbury*, the LEGATE's Mother, exhibited a ſcene of rapacity and ſacrilege, which, till then, had wanted a precedent, and, for the honour of human nature, has not been copied ſince. An incredible treaſure, which the plunder of 700 Religious houſes had brought in, being now as laviſhly ſquandered as it was ſhamefully acquired; and the cravings of avarice and other paſſions being only irritated by a perpetual condeſcenſion to them, he cauſed the Parliament to make over to him the revenues, churches, and buildings, belonging to all the Colleges, Seminaries, Chanteries, and Brotherhoods throughout *England*, with full power to diſpoſe of all ſacred oblations and funds appropriated to all ſuch like purpoſes. The nation was prepared for this final deſolation by having been witneſs to the means of rapine, with which even his acts of bounty ſupplied him. For having founded, in this latter part of his reign, ſix new Biſhopricks, they were ſo impoveriſhed, that the firſt Incumbents lived on the benevolence

* Poem. pars 1ª ed. *Triſtram.*
† In *Benaco.*

of

of their Clergy, and other well-diſpoſed perſons*; and the King made repriſals on the ancient Sees for this fit of generoſity, and cauſed the Parliament to give him ſeventy Manors belonging to that of *York*: *Cranmer* gave up twelve belonging to *Canterbury*; and the large poſſeſſions of *Durham* were, many years, ſecularized. Theſe ſeizures were attended with indignities more outrageous than the violence itſelf, and with the utmoſt contempt of his people. He began by aſſuring them the alienations ſhould not be detrimental to piety or learning; and then complained, he was out of pocket by the great expence he had been at in diſſolving Monaſteries, and reforming abuſes in the Church; and hoped, they would find out ſome method to reimburſe him, which he took care they ſhould do in the following manner.

Besides the religious Houſes, which may be looked on as Capital Meſſuages, there were ſeveral leſſer tenements, ſuch as Collegiate Churches, Hoſpitals, Chanteries, Free Chapels, Guilds, and ſeveral other foundations of the like import. The number of theſe eſtabliſhments, at the time I am ſpeaking of, is ſaid to have been 2734, erected in ſeveral ages, chiefly by the Subject, whoſe property was now invaded beyond any power of redreſs. Some of them had been inſtituted for the decency and ſolemnity of the divine ſervice, and the manifold national advantages which accrued from ſuch performance: others, for the ſupport of the indigent, ſick, and aged, and for a competent number of Prieſts, to afford them ſpiritual aſſiſtance; to which charges was added a laſting obligation of ſupplicating the divine Majeſty in behalf of their living and deceaſed Benefactors.

* *Collier's* Church Hiſtory, vol. 2, b. 6, pag. 480.

The name of Guild, which is derived from the Saxon *Gilo*, and ſignifies money, was given to Companies which throw any part of their property into a common Stock, either of traffic, charity, or religion. They had their annual feaſts, and neighbourly meetings. The Guild of *Coventry* will inform the Reader of the plan on which all the reſt were formed. It was founded in the fourteenth year of the reign of *Edward* III. and the King grants licence to the inhabitants to have a Merchants Guild, and a fraternity of Brothers and Siſters belonging to the ſame, with a Maſter and Warden: as, likewiſe, to erect Chanteries and endow charitable foundations, and perform ſuch other acts of Religion as require the Royal aſſent; and to make rules and ordinances for the good government of the ſaid Societies. In the ſeventeenth year of his reign he extended this privilege to ſeveral others of the ſame place, and appointed the Guild thus erected to honour St. *John Baptiſt*, as their principal Patron. They were to purchaſe a perpetual fund for a Chantry of ſix Prieſts, who were to celebrate, every day, ſolemn Maſs for the repoſe of the ſouls of the King's Anceſtors, and the good eſtate of his Majeſty, and the Royal family. Two years after, he enabled Queen *Iſabel*, his Mother, to aſſign a parcel of land to one of theſe Guilds, to build a Chapel, and endow it, for the maintenance of two Prieſts, to perform the above-mentioned functions*.

Of all theſe donations, ſo worthy the character of the Engliſh, their piety to their Maker, and compaſſion towards their fellow creatures, only the colleges within the two Univerſities, thoſe of *Wincheſter* and *Eaton*, the Chapel of St. *George* at

* *Dugdale*'s *Warwickſhire*, pag. 109, 119.

Windſor,

Windsor, and a few others, upon earnest application, escaped being reformed, or, in other words, suppressed.

NOTHING of the Church's temporalities remained now unseized but the Bishopricks. In order, therefore, that Sacrilege might take its full range, a plan was drawn up for secularizing the next vacant Sees, as *Baget*, *Deny*, and *Herbert*, who were privy to the design, told the King's Executors*. His death hindered this resolution from being executed, and preserved the only remaining Monuments of Saxon piety and munificence, from a Tyrant, who was no less an alien to their blood than to the goodness of their dispositions.

IT was now two years since the Council which met at *Trent*, after having sat a few months, had been prorogued without any certain limitation, either as to time or place. The English LEGATE passed this interval at *Rome* and *Viterbo*, in his usual studies, and attention to the Province of which he was Governor. A peace was now concluded between the Emperor and French King; and among other Articles, it had been agreed to use their united endeavours in the support of the Catholic Religion, the reformation of the Court of *Rome*, and the continuation of the Council. Soon after this, *Paul* III. published a decree, by which it was again summoned; but of the three, who were Legates at 1545.
the first meeting, CARDINAL POLE alone was nominated to preside at this. The other two were *John del Monte*, Cardinal Bishop of *Palestrina*, and *Marcellus Cervini*, Cardinal Priest of the holy Cross: the English LEGATE was Cardinal

 Deacon

* *Collier*, as before; b. 4. pag. 219.

Deacon of St. *Mary* in *Cosmedin.* To theſe the Pope joined as Aſſiſtants, two other Prelates, and a noted Preacher. They all arrived at *Trent*, at the beginning of *March*, 1545, CARDINAL POLE excepted, who came ſome time after. This delay was occaſioned by the riſk he would then have run on the road, from *Henry*'s reſolution to diſpatch him at all events. His Collegues wrote to him, on the information of the Biſhop of *Trent*, that one *Ludovico*, an agent for the King in the cauſe of the Divorce, and an Italian Count, *Bonifacio*, who were hired to be the Ruffians, had engaged to ſeize him on the road*. Wherefore, when he ſet out, a month after, he was eſcorted by five and twenty Horſe, as far as *Mantua*, and for greater ſecurity, took a bye way.

HAD the leiſure this incident procured him been the effect of his own choice, it could not have anſwered a purpoſe either more ſuited to the circumſtance in which it happened, or more becoming the perſonage he bore.—" He employed it in compoſing a Work on the nature and end of General Councils, which he deſigned as a memorial for himſelf, and his two Aſſociates, of the duties they were to diſcharge in that, at which they were about to preſide. He tells them, however, they were to look on this treatiſe rather as a rough draught, than a perfect Model of that magnificent Building which was to be founded on Truth, and the ſuperſtructure raiſed by the Reſtoration of Diſcipline.—He, then, premiſes a conſideration of their obligations as Legates of the holy See; in which they

* *Reynal* ad hunc annum, No. 4. and the nine firſt letters of the M. S. of Car. *Marcellus Cervini,* publiſhed tom. 4, of CARDINAL POLE's letters, pag. 184.

had

had this in common with other Ambaſſadors, to ſet forth, with good faith, the commiſſion they were charged with, and execute it with like fidelity and diligence. And as the firſt duty of the Pope's Legate's to a General Council was to repreſent his Perſon, who ſent them, their chief concern ſhould be to ſay and do nothing unbecoming that high character.—He proceeds to ſhew, that a General Council is an aggregate of perſons united in the ſame Faith, and gathered from every nation, without any regard to thoſe diſtinctions which divide Mankind; where there is neither Greek nor Barbarian, but one people united in one Belief: and that this Collection is the people of God, whom JESUS CHRIST denotes by the name of Church, when he ſaid to him, who firſt made profeſſion of his being the Son of God, *I ſay unto thee, thou art a Rock, and on this Rock I will build my Church.*—But, that all who are united in this conſent, and, conſequently belong to the Chriſtian Society, cannot be Members of a General Council; for, being multiplied, according to the divine promiſes, as the ſands of the Sea ſhore, they could not be ſummoned nor convened in the ſame place; both which neceſſarily enter into the notion of ſuch a meeting.—That, ſuppoſing the poſſibility of ſuch an Aſſembly, the bulk of the People would have no ſhare in defining, forbiding, or commanding what was enacted; the reaſon of which is, that the Church is not a Popular ſtate, in which things are decided by the Multitude; but a State, in which the people are to aſſent to and execute what is ordained by their Rulers.—Thus, St. *Paul*, explaining the ſum of his Embaſſy or Apoſtleſhip to the Heathen World, ſays it conſiſted in this, *that they ſhould obey him:* and to the Hebrews, who were united to the new people of the Gentiles, and become a part of the Church, *Rom.* i. II. *Theſſ.* iii.

 obey,

Heb. xiii. *obey*, says he, *those who are placed over you, and shew all submission to them, because they are appointed to watch over you, as being accountable for your souls.*

"Neither did this plan constitute an Aristocracy, the form of the Church's government being Regal: yet not so as to be subject to the dominion of one man, who bears universal sway, as in human Monarchies; but to the rule of one God and Man, Jesus Christ, the Lord of all, whom the Father has appointed Head over the whole Church, in which he has placed Pastors and Rulers to govern and feed it, in His, not in their own names, as it happens in earthly forms of Government, where a few, or one only, bears sway.—Now, such an Assembly met to consult on the advantage of God's people, is the General Council he treats of.—Nor is the exclusion of the bulk of the people any reason for the Council not to be called General; because each Individual is at full liberty to propose what he conceives may be for his own advantage, or that of the Whole: and the Council being lawfully called in the holy Ghost, it represents the universal Church, and meets on concerns which regard not single persons or nations, but the welfare of all who profess the faith of Christ, though spread over the face of the Earth, and differenced by place, customs, and manners.

"He then observes, that though the assistance of the divine spirit had not been wanting to the Hebrews, yet its being granted to one particular people, their Assemblies were not General Councils, as the nation itself was rather a Synagogue than a Church.—And as for the Heathen world, being governed by a mere human spirit, no General Council, in the propriety of the phrase, could have been held by them, though the whole

Race

Race had aſſembled in the ſame place."—On this, the LEGATE makes the following ingenious remark on the Aſſembly of Mankind, after the Deluge, in the plain of *Shinar*, when one ſaid to another, *Come let us build us a City, and a Tower, whoſe top may reach up to Heaven, and let us make us a name, before we are diſperſed over the Earth.* "This, ſays he, was the Decree of this Council, and though the Decree was annulled by Almighty God, and the enterprize begun in conſequence of it, brought to nothing, yet the purpoſe remained fixed in the mind of Mankind, till the effuſion of the holy Spirit; and each one, who is not regenerated in Him, ſtill holds the ſame language, and endeavours, to the utmoſt of his power, to make it good."—Indeed, the Motto of Ambition is, every where, the ſame, and of a much more ancient date than that cited here by the CARDINAL, having been choſen by him, who firſt unhappily ſignalized himſelf in its cauſe; ASCENDAM. *Iſaiah*, ch. xiv, v. 14.

"IN order to diſtinguiſh theſe Aſſemblies, whoſe deciſions are guided by the holy Spirit, from others, the firſt and chief condition, ſays he, is, that they be ſummoned by lawful authority, with a view to the honour of God in CHRIST JESUS, and a regard to the general welfare of All, who, throughout the whole world, profeſs the Chriſtian faith. If, therefore, the honour of one ſingle perſon, or of many, or even the advantage of the whole human race, if ſuch a ſuppoſition can be made, ſhould be intended ſo as to exclude the honour of the Supreme Being, ſuch a meeting would be nothing leſs than the Aſſembly we are treating of.—Nor is it enough that the honour of God be intended in ſome particulars, or to ſuch a certain point; but it muſt be the principal end of the Deliberations.—For this reaſon, theſe General meetings treat of ſuch things as regard the higheſt

honour Man can pay his Maker, which is CHRIST JESUS, and of the ſafety of his People in the ſame Saviour: that they acquitted themſelves of this duty, by expounding and confirming the Faith in the Son of the living God, and ordering aright our love towards him: all which would apppear more diſtinctly when he came to the nature of their Decrees, after having ſhewn who thoſe were who preſided, and aſſiſted at the forming of them.

"THE office of the Biſhop of *Rome*, or the Pope, is that of Vicar of JESUS CHRIST, inaſmuch as he is the chief of Shepherds, and the Biſhop of our Souls; by which appellation he is ſtyled by St. *Peter*; this Office or Magiſtracy, Almighty God was pleaſed to take on himſelf, as appears in the beautiful allegory under which he repreſents his tender care of Mankind; where, after having entered on an endearing detail of all the functions of a good Shepherd, and ſhewed in what manner he had fulfilled them, he concludes the Character he had aſſumed, by this laſt inſtance of care of his Flock: *I will ſet up one Shepherd over them, and he ſhall feed them, even my Servant* David: *he ſhall feed them, and he ſhall be their Shepherd; and I, the Lord, will be their God, and my Servant* David, *a Prince among them; I, the Lord, have ſpoken it.*

Ezec. ch. xxxiv. *Iſaiah* ch. xlix.

THE Writer goes on to remark, "That Almighty God vouchſafed to make good this gracious aſſurance, when he ſet over his Flock his bleſſed Son; for he exerciſed each diſtinct paſtoral function, aſcribed by *Ezechiel* to the Supreme Being, when he turned the evil Shepherds out of place, when he caſt the buyers and ſellers out of the Temple; when he pronounced a woe on thoſe, who had the key of knowledge, and yet neither

neither entered themſelves, nor ſuffered others to enter; when he declared them thieves and robbers; when he finally cauſed their habitation to be laid waſte, and brought back his ſheep from all the deſert places, into which they had been diſperſed; when he healed the lame, the blind, and the dumb.—He fed them peculiarly in mercy, when he declared he did not come into the World with an intent to condemn, but to ſave it; when he provided them with the moſt wholeſome of all food, his own divine doctrine; when he cauſed them to ſit in the beauty of peace, and beſtowed ſuch a peace on them as the world cannot give: and, that the Manſions in his Father's houſe, which, he ſays, are many, might be properly filled up, he did not confer the ſame gifts, nor aſſign to all the ſame poſts of honour, but appointed ſome, Apoſtles; ſome, Prophets; others, Evangeliſts, Paſtors, and Teachers; and beſtowed variouſly the gifts of miracles, of healing, aſſiſting, governing; of ſpeaking divers languages, and expounding prophetic and dark ſpeeches. This he ſtill more evinced by ſending, after his death, the holy Spirit, who proceeds from the Father and Him, that he might bring to their remembrance, and ratify whatever he had taught them during his mortal life.

"THIS detail brings the LEGATE, at length, to the judiciary capacity attributed to the Son of God, as chief Shepherd of the Church, which he not only exerciſed, in its full extent, during his ſtay on earth, but inveſted his Miniſters with the ſame. For though JESUS CHRIST be always preſent to his Flock, yet it is not by a viſible and corporeal appearance; and his Flock, as the Prophet ſays, being us men, who are made up of a body and ſoul, we ſtand in need not only of that internal guidance, by which the mind is influenced and directed, but alſo of an outward and viſi-

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ble legiſlature. And though he could have ſupplied all this, and, in fact, confers the efficacy and power by which it is performed, yet it became his Providence to eſtabliſh a form of Government ſuited to the condition of things, and he was pleaſed there ſhould be one chief paſtor in his ſtead.—That *Peter* was the perſon thus appointed, to whom the care of the whole Flock was committed; who is CHRIST's Vicegerent on earth; and, ſince, thoſe who have ſucceeded to his See, and inherited his preminence. Beſides the paſſages of Scripture, which evince this truth, when they are conſidered without prejudice, he remarks, "that the providence of Almighty God has been the cleareſt commentary on theſe paſſages, and, by the event of things, atteſted this truth with the utmoſt perſpicuity."—He then cites the texts, and dwells on the conſequences which reſult from them, and in what ſenſe they are applicable to St. *Peter*, who, as Vicegerent of the Son of God, exerted the office of "Father of the future age, of Guardian and Paſtor of the Church, in the firſt Council held at *Jeruſalem*.—This part of the treatiſe, without departing from the eaſe and familiar air, which recommends the whole, is worked up with great ſtrength, and muſt be looked on as a complete proof of the Supremacy of the Biſhops of *Rome*; it is an effort, which though adjuſted by the niceſt rules of Art, commands the approbation of thoſe, who are ignorant of the principles to which they owe their pleaſure.

HE then ſhews, "That all General Councils have proceeded on the plan of that held in *Jeruſalem*, both as to the deciſion of the controverted points, and the quality and rank of thoſe who preſided, and gave their opinion, and made the Decrees. For whereas in this, *Peter* declared to the Jewiſh and Gentile Converts, that is, to the whole Chriſtian World, what was to be held in the point

point there contested; so, in all following ages, his Successors have been the last resort from whence Nations and Kingdoms have received the definitive sentence in the like debates. The Bishops, likewise, of particular Churches, and others to whom the care of souls is committed, have in their respective Jurisdictions, confirmed the doctrine of His See, as the other Apostles and Elders did in this first Assembly.

On this occasion he observes, "that the See of *Rome* is called the Apostolic See; and the Pope's Legates, the Legates of the same See; the signification of See being the same as Chair, and denoting a superior authority in teaching, as CHRIST's words import, when he speaks of those who sat on the chair of *Moses*, that is, who had authority to teach and interpret the divine Law, delivered in his writings; and commands an universal deference to be paid to all their injunctions. *Matthew*, ch. xiii. —In consequence of this, all general Councils, whose Decrees have been received by the Catholick Church, have acknowledged this prerogative in the See of *Rome*. Some have declared it in express terms, and none ever thought their Decrees would be received by the Faithful, unless they were confirmed by the Apostolical See. —The event, therefore, of things, the consent of so many Sovereigns, Nations, and General Councils, form a proof above all reply, that this was the will and design of God."

HAVING spoke of the office of the different Orders of the Hierarchy, in these Meetings, he sets forth, with great distinction and propriety, the part which *Constantine*, and other Christian Princes have sustained on the same occasions; and takes an opportunity of hinting something of what was expected from *Charles* V. in the approaching Council, at whose repeated instances it was summoned.—

moned.—Here he enters on a diſcuſſion of the higheſt importance to Mankind; the duty of Sovereigns, and the principles on which it is grounded. He derives their power from an origin as honourable to themſelves, as ſalutary to thoſe they govern; and which though, generally, little attended to by thoſe who hold it, can alone point out to them the extent of their obligations, and the means of filling up the meaſure of them; and ſhews that theſe cannot be duly diſcharged, unleſs the Prince attends alſo to thoſe of the Prieſthood, which he exemplifies in *Conſtantine*'s behaviour at the Council of *Nice* *.

However foreign theſe and the like notions may appear to our manners and ways of thinking, it is not leſs true that the aim of Princes ſhould be to make good and virtuous Citizens, which is a higher End than the bare conſideration of temporal benefits. Nature alone, if her dictates were liſtened to, teaches Man this excellent end of his Commonwealth, and to provide not only for what concerns the body, which he has in common with other creatures not endued with reaſon, but much more for the mind; and, above all, for the worſhip and ſervice of that Supreme Being, who is the beginning and end of all things; whence it neceſſarily follows, that it ſhould be the principal care of every Magiſtrate. This perſuaſion is ſo natural and univerſal, that all Antiquity, both Jewiſh and Pagan, have been influenced by it; and, for many ages, their Kings and chief Magiſtrates were likewiſe Prieſts; nor have the learned aſſigned a more ſatisfactory reaſon for the prerogative of *Birthright*, ſo highly eſteemable in all Nations, than that it chiefly conſiſted in this, and annex-

* Cui (i. e. regio muneri) neceſſariò adjunctum fuit Sacerdotalis virtutis donum; ſine quo regium munus nunquam rectè exerceri poteſt. *Polus* de Concilio.

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ed to the *Firſt-born* the greateſt of all dignities, and the ſacred functions belonging to it †.

" After having treated of the different Claſſes of Perſons who compoſe a Council, and the ſeveral parts allotted to each of them, he comes, in the laſt place, to the Cauſes which had given occaſion to that which was then called; and which, he ſays, were the ſame as had given occaſion to all former Councils, the expoſition of the tenets of the Church, the refutation of contrary errors, and the revival of decayed Diſcipline: that theſe Cauſes were then urgent, as Hereſies had increaſed, and the manners of the Chriſtian world become ſo extremely corrupt, that he muſt apply to them what *Iſaiah* ſaid of the Jews, *the whole head is ſick, and the whole heart faint.*

" He then addreſſes himſelf to the Pope, to the Emperor and other Princes, and with a freedom becoming his Character, expreſſes himſelf in the following manner. " I am by no means of opinion that the chief Biſhop, who repreſents the perſon of Jesus Christ, and is accuſtomed to preſide, as Judge, in all Councils, ſhould be ſubject to this which is going to be held, or to any Tribunal but his own. All I deſire is, that he would pronounce ſentence on himſelf, which alone can exempt him from human and divine blame; give weight to the ſentence he paſſes on the faults of others; remove the dangers and evils with which the Church is now ſurrounded, and procure laſting peace and concord.

" If the Heads of the Council would open it with this penitential ſpirit, and a thorough reformation of what regards themſelves, there is no

† *Genebrand.* l. 1. Cronol. de prima Ætate: et in *Geneſ.* 25 et 29. *Deut.* 21. 2 *Paral.* 21 See alſo, Mr. *Pope*'s note on ver. 563 of the 3d book of the *Odyſſey*.

bleſſing

bleſſing but might be hoped from ſuch an aſſembly, in which the aſſiſtance of the holy ſpirit would be preſent with no leſs evidence than if he ſat on the heads of the aſſembled Fathers in cloven tongues of fire. This advice, ſays he, is particularly ſuited to the times, in which there is ſuch a general proneneſs to excuſe ourſelves, and transfer on others the ſubject of complaint. Thus, the temporal Princes impute the evils which afflict Chriſtianity, to the Prieſthood, and they, again, to the lay Powers; and no one confeſſes himſelf in the fault. No conteſt can be more proud, or hateful to God, and if we continue in it, the approaching Aſſembly, inſtead of procuring any good, will cauſe greater diſturbances, and more incorrigible evils.

" He concludes with reminding the Legates, that their hopes of a happy iſſue to the affair, ought chiefly to be grounded on the promiſes of Jesus Christ; and among others, on his declaration to St. *Peter*, " that though Satan had deſired to deſtroy the Apoſtles, he prayed for *him*, that *his* faith might not fail, and that *he* might confirm his Brethren." On which he obſerves, that Chriſt, the Lord of all, by having recourſe to prayer, as the only preſervative which could defend the Church, he had founded, from deſtruction, had informed us to have recourſe to the ſame, offered up in his name, and with his ſpirit; not to the ſubtlety of human underſtanding, not to " the prudence of the fleſh, which is at enmity with God;" nor to temporal power, in which men are wont to place their chief truſt: that this is a reſource which brings with it all kinds of ſuccours, imparts a ſalutary influence to all we undertake, and, in the end compels every thing to be ſubſervient to the cauſe of chriſtianity.--Here he propoſes

Dan. c. ix. the admirable prayer of the Prophet *Daniel* which he cites at length, as a model to his Aſſociates in their

their ſupplications, but adds this caution, that if they ſeek their own honour rather than that of Almighty God; and deſire their private advantage preferable to that of his People, they are to avoid making uſe of *Daniel*'s words, or any other of the like import,—If they don't deſire the preſence of the holy Spirit, they are not to join in the ſolemn hymn, by which the Council begins, and by which his aid is implored; but to fear, leſt inſtead of the Creator and Comforter, they be viſited by an exterminating Spirit, ſuch as God threatens to ſend thoſe who called on him with a double heart; that is, a deceiver to lyars, and a deſtroyer to deſtroyers.—But, on the contrary, if the conditions he had put down were complied with, particularly the penitential ſpirit, and the reformation of the Heads of the Clergy, the future Council might not only be compared to that of *Nice*, but even to that of *Jeruſalem*, at which the Apoſtles themſelves were preſent, as its influence would be more diffuſive, and extend to the happineſs of an infinitely greater number of People."*

These are the chief heads of a treatiſe, which for perſpicuity, good ſenſe and ſolid reaſoning, is equal to the importance of the occaſion, on which it was wrote: and ſhews, at once, the reach and eaſe of the Author's genius, and the goodneſs of his heart. He has avoided all extreme opinions, and not diſcovered greater zeal for the Catholic Church, and the prerogative of the See of *Rome*, than candour in repreſenting the diſorders which ſullied one, and leſſened the authority of the other. He ſeems to have conſidered the recalling the Lutherans in *Germany* to the Religion they had forſaken, and the reſtoration of decayed diſcipline in all Orders, as the principal reaſon for ſummoning

* This Work is inſerted by *Phil. Labbe* among the *Canones et Decreta Conc. Trid. Paris* 1667.

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the Council, and the end to which its deliberations and decrees ſhould particularly be referred. He had frequently and ſeriouſly weighed the ſubject here treated, but the compoſition was the work of his leiſure during the month he ſtaid at *Rome* when the other two Legates, to whom it is inſcribed, were at *Trent*. *Aldus Manutius*, the younger, publiſhed this uſeful performance a few years after the Author's death, and dedicated it to *Paul* IV. of the *Medicean* family. The preface which
1562. is taken up with an enumeration of the qualities which diſtinguiſhed the CARDINAL, is long, and one of the moſt elegant compoſitions in the Latin tongue.

THE Legates *del Monte* and *Cervini* arrived, as has been ſaid, at *Trent* on the beginning of *March*, and CARDINAL POLE followed them, within a month. They were charged with no particular orders in writing, the Pope thinking it ſufficient to let them have their inſtructions when they were about to open the Council: which did not happen till nine months after.——Their Credentials ſet forth, " that the Pope ſent them to *Trent* as Angels of peace, to preſide at that Council, to make whatever decrees they judged neceſſary for the good of the Church, and to publiſh them, as was cuſtomary, during the Seſſions: to propoſe, conclude and execute whatever they thought proper to extirpate errors, recall the people to the obedience of the holy See, re-eſtabliſh Eccleſiaſtical liberty, reform the Church in all its Members, procure peace between Chriſtian Princes, and ordain whatever was expedient for the honour of Almighty God, and the propagation of the holy Faith; and repreſs, by cenſures and Eccleſiaſtical puniſhments, the refractory and rebellious of what condition ſoever.

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It had been resolved at *Rome* to restrain the power of the Legates by a clause, that they should do nothing but with the consent of the Council; but on their remonstrating that this would streighten their commission beyond what was fitting, and desiring it might be left out, their petition was granted.—By a subsequent Decree they were authorized, in case they did not find proper accommodations in *Trent*, for holding the Council, to transfer it to any other place of greater freedom and safety.—Cardinal *Farnese* passing through the City about this time, in his way to *Worms*, the Legates having conferred with him, signified to the Pope, that his reputation was concerned in holding the Council with a dignity suitable to so august an Assembly; that several of the Bishops were unprovided of necessaries, and that it would be proper to appoint a Treasurer, with a fund sufficient to answer their exigencies.

Didacus Mendoza, the Emperor's Ambassador, was already come to *Trent*, and had been received with great solemnity; and not long after one arrived on the part of *Ferdinand* King of the Romans. *Mendoza* insisted on having precedence of the Bishop of *Trent*, as he represented the Emperor, and, consequently, was only to give place to the Legates, who represented the Pope, next to whom his Master held the first rank among the Potentates. This contest produced no inconvenience, and an expedient was found to place them both in such a manner, as neither might seem to have the higher place. But the Ceremonial which another Ambassador of the same nation claimed, towards the end of the Council, was not so easily adjusted. I should not think it worth the Reader's while to be detained with such incidents, were it not to observe from what

unthought of trifles the moſt ſerious affairs are threatened with diſappointment.—The Count of *Luna*, the Spaniſh Ambaſſador, had an extraordinary place aſſigned him, becauſe he would not rank below the Ambaſſadors of *France*, who inſiſted on being ſeated next to the Emperor's. *De Luna* entered his proteſt againſt this proceeding, and the conteſt was carried on with ſuch animoſity, that the French, who were informed that the Pope favoured the pretenſions of the Spaniard, declared publicly they would leave the place, and provide for the affairs of Religion by a national Synod. The matter was compromiſed, and the French and Spaniſh Ambaſſadors agreed to appear alternately on public occaſions, and ſo avoid any future ſtrife.

To return to the buſineſs of the Council: *Mendoza* aſſured the Legates, at the public Audience which was given him in the great Hall of *del Monte*'s palace, "of the Emperor's deſire to aſſiſt in perſon at the Council, and excuſed him on account of his infirmities, and the affairs which required his preſence elſewhere.—He ſpoke of his zeal for ſummoning the Aſſembly; and of the involuntary obſtacles which had hitherto retarded it, and of the orders he had given the Spaniſh Biſhops to ſet out with all expedition, and aſſured the Legates, they were already on the road.—He made an Apology for his own indiſpoſitions, which had retarded his arrival for ſome days; and cauſed his Credentials to be read.—The next day, the Legates gave him a ſecond Audience, and told him, they had a great confidence in the Emperor's piety, and hoped he would refer all he did to the advancement of Religion.

Francis I. King of *France*, wrote likewiſe to the Fathers, to notify to them, that as his Ambaſſadors could not ſet out immediately, he was deſirous

ſirous to aſſure them of his veneration; and his readineſs to concur in whatever meaſures they ſhould judge neceſſary for the good of Chriſtianity. The Letter was read in full Aſſembly, and received with great joy and applauſe by all who were preſent. The King's letter to the Legates was not leſs obliging, as appears by CARDINAL POLE's anſwer. Theſe letters were ſent by three Religious Men, whom the King recommends to the Council, for their learning and virtue*.

THIS behaviour of two Princes, who had then the lead in the affairs of *Europe*, may recall to the learned Reader the reſpect which the great *Conſtantine* ſhewed to the Biſhops at the Council of *Nice*. He had requeſted them to meet in that City from different Provinces of *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*, by letters full of reſpect, and had provided them, and all who came with them, with carriages and every other convenience. He arrived at the City the day before the Council was opened, and came into it, without his Guards, attended only by a few of his Court, who were all Chriſtians. His eyes caſt down, and the modeſty of his whole behaviour, teſtified the awe he was under at appearing in ſo venerable an Aſſembly. He deſired the Fathers, who roſe up at his entrance, to take their ſeats; and remained ſtanding himſelf till they deſired him to ſit. After a diſcourſe addreſſed to him by one of them, he waited to return an anſwer, till he had their leave; and every thing, even the tone of his voice, indicated the like diſpoſitions. A ſolemn banquet which he gave on the concluſion of the Council, which coincided with the twentieth year of his reign, was to denote, that he eſteemed the victory gained over *Arius* no leſs

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 4a. pag. 30.

glorious than that which had aſſured the Empire to himſelf. He would have all the Fathers, who were above three hundred, partake of the entertainment, and placed the moſt illuſtrious on each ſide of his perſon. He kiſſed, with reverence, the ſcars which ſeveral bore about them, of torments ſuffered in the laſt perſecutions; ſome of whom had one or both eyes plucked out, or their limbs maimed: and when they took leave of him, on their return to their reſpective homes, he gave them proofs of his royal munificence, and in the moſt endearing terms, recommended to them mutual unity, as the chief badge of their profeſſion *.

WHAT I have hitherto related, was only a prelude to the Council, and paſſed ſeveral months before it began. But on the 13th of *December*, the Legates made their public entry into *Trent*, accompanied by Cardinal *Madrucius*, Biſhop of the City; after which they opened the Council. There were preſent four Archbiſhops, twenty two Biſhops, five Generals of Orders, the Ambaſſadors of the Emperor and of the King of the Romans: Thoſe of the French nation had been recalled. A general faſt had been obſerved, the day before, and public prayers ordered at *Trent* and *Rome*, and a Jubilee granted to engage the Faithful, to implore the bleſſing and guidance of heaven, on the Fathers aſſembled on ſuch an occaſion.

THE ſudden diſſolution of the Council, two years before, and the ſeeming reluctance and delays with which the Pope had now ſummoned it again, made the Legates apprehend that the ſame irreſolution might, a ſecond time, defeat a meaſure, of which every one ſaw the neceſſity;

* See *Tillemont*'s Memoirs, tom. 6, where this ſubject is treated with an accuracy, of which that Author's Works are the only inſtance I am acquainted with, Mr. *Hooke*'s Roman Hiſtory excepted.

and

and they resolved to omit nothing, on their part, which might encourage the Pope to lay aside all other considerations, but such as became his character and the exigencies of the times. As soon, therefore, as the Council was opened, the English LEGATE writ to him in his own and his Associates name, "to exhort him to exert all his paternal care in bringing what was begun, to a happy issue.—He informs him of several rumours which were industriously spread, by those who desired the present effort to reform the Church, might prove as fruitless as the former. They objected the unseasonableness of such an undertaking, and, like those who opposed the rebuilding of the Temple, had always in their mouths, that *the time was not yet come*.—He reminds him of what the Prophets replied to the High Priest *Josedeck*, when they shewed the People the ruins of the former Temple, in order to stir up the zeal of those who were touched with the remembrance of its ancient splendor, and assured him, on the part of the Almighty, that he would prosper his undertaking.—He concludes by entreating the Pope, if any reports were invidiously set about, concerning his and his Collegues behaviour, which were less pleasing to his Holiness, he would rest satisfied, that they had hitherto acted with candour and integrity, and should never forget the respect they owed him as the common Father of christianity *."

THE first general Congregation was held on the 18th of *December*, five days after the opening the Council: and the Legates requested that the nomination of the Officers might be made at *Rome*; to which the Fathers consented: and, in another held on the 29th, both a deliberative and a decisive voice was allowed to Abbots who were

* Epist. *R. Poli*, pars 4, pag. 35.

 Heads

1546. Heads of Orders.—On the fifth of *January*, Cardinal *del Monte*, the President, proposed, in a general congregation, that separate Committees should be appointed to discuss the different matters which were to be debated; and the persons named to draw up what had been resolved; on which each one might give his opinion in the general meetings. That there might be an entire liberty in voting, the Legates were to propose the matters simply, and not to give their opinion till the Sessions, where the questions were finally to be decided. This regulation passed by a plurality of votes, and with it the first Session ended.

The second, which was more numerous than the former, was held two days after, in which it was resolved, that the Council should only take the title of *Sacred and Oecumenical*, or *Universal*, contrary to their opinion, who would have declared it *to represent the Universal Church*; which debate was frequently renewed during the following Sessions. An order was, likewise, read from the Pope, by which the Proxies of those who were absent, were declared incapable of voting; and that the ranks assigned in the Council should not prejudice any one's right.—By a Committee of the 22d of the same month, it was agreed, that matters relating to Faith and the Reformation of manners, should be jointly treated of; and on the 29th the Prelates were divided into three Classes, which were to confer with the Legates, before they proposed to the general Conventions, what they deliberated on in the Committees.

The third Session, held on the third of *February* was taken up in reading the Symbol, or profession of Faith; and in the fourth, which was held five days after, a Decree passed concerning the Canonical books of Scripture, and the authority of

Traditi-

Tradition; and another, by which the Latin edition, called *the Vulgate*, was declared authentic. —Cardinal *Pacheco* propoſed, in a general Convention of the ſeventeenth of the following *March*, that all tranſlations of the Scriptures into modern languages ſhould be prohibited. The prodigious abuſe of the Word of God, and the licentiouſneſs with which every one perverted it according to his own fancy, gave occaſion to this motion: but Cardinal *Madrucci* repreſented, that *Germany* was highly offended at the bare report of ſuch a propoſition; and nothing more was ſaid on the ſubject.

I AM very ſenſible the generality of this nation is ſo far prejudiced againſt *Pacheco*'s opinion, as to condemn the Catholic Church, for having ever with-held a full liberty on this head. But, without taking on myſelf to decide on either ſide of the queſtion, I ſhall briefly propoſe what my be alledged to juſtify this reſtraint. And, firſt, in times ſo diſtant from the faith and teachable diſpoſition of the primitive Chriſtians, it may, perhaps, not be expedient to put indifferently in the hands of all the world thoſe ſacred Oracles, of which God has given the underſtanding to pure ſouls; and which the ignorant, according to St. *Peter*, *wreſt to their own deſtruction.* It may be further urged, that it is inherent to low minds to undervalue what they have always before their eyes, and to reverence what is leſs obvious: that the wiſeſt nations have always removed the Myſteries of Religion from the approaches of the vulgar; and JESUS CHRIST himſelf, who is the wiſdom of God, had ſo often ſpoke in parables, to conceal from groſs underſtandings what he deſigned to reveal in particular to his Diſciples: that, in the Old and New Teſtament there are ſeveral paſſages which require great attention, knowledge, and ſobriety of thought, and which it were better

to leave in the learned languages: for, otherwiſe, they become a means of ſeduction *to carnal men, who do not underſtand the things that are of God*; and to proud and preſumptuous ſpirits, who imagine they underſtand what they are ignorant of.

In the following Seſſion, which was the fifth, and was held on the 17th of *June*, the Council made two Decrees; one of which regarded Faith; the other, Diſcipline. The former explains the doctrine of original ſin, which takes up five canons, and condemns the different hereſies which have been advanced concerning it. This point had been diſcuſſed, in a great detail, in ſeveral Congregations, and naturally brought on the queſtion of the condition of Children who die without baptiſm. The Fathers leave a liberty of opinion on this head, without condemning thoſe who hold they are deprived of the ſight of God, and not ſubject to any other puniſhment; and, at the end of the article, they declare it is not their intention to include the bleſſed and ſpotleſs Virgin, *Mary*, Mother of God, in the decree which declares all Mankind to be conceived in ſin.

The other Decree of this Seſſion, which relates to the Reformation of manners, orders there ſhall be Readers of Theology not only in Metropolitan, but in Cathedral Churches, and in Monaſteries: and empowers Biſhops, as Delegates of the holy See, to take care that theſe Lectures be eſtabliſhed in the latter places. The ſecond chapter of the Decree enjoins all Biſhops, Pariſh Prieſts, and others who have the care of ſouls, to preach the holy Goſpel to the people committed to their charge. This important office is allowed, likewiſe, to Religious perſons, who are approved by the Biſhop, in their reſpective Churches; but not elſewhere, without his licence: and in order to prevent, for the future, the abuſes which avarice had

had introduced, the Collectors of Alms are univerſally excluded from this function. The Eccleſiaſtical Judge is authorized to compel ſuch as are refractory, by depriving them of the fruits of their benefices.—Cardinal *Pallavicini* obſerves, that this is the firſt time that Biſhops are mentioned as *Delegates of the Holy See*; which ſtyle was of great uſe during the ſequel of the Council, when any thing was to be granted to the Epiſcopal Order, without leſſening the Papal authority.—Nine Archbiſhops, and forty-nine Biſhops were preſent at this Seſſion.

THE multiplicity and importance of theſe affairs did not hinder the Engliſh LEGATE from lending himſelf to his Friends with the ſame freedom and unreſervedneſs, as if he had no other concern but to oblige and be uſeful to them. This will appear in the following inſtance. *Cochleus* deſired his opinion of a work in which he ſeemed to diſapprove the modern cuſtom of not giving the Euchariſt to Children; and though the Author had the authority of ſeveral of the Ancients, who ſhew this to have formerly been the practice, yet he doubted whether, the circumſtances of the times conſidered, it would not be more adviſeable to ſuppreſs what he had writ on that head.—To which the Cardinal replies, "that as to the practice in queſtion, he agreed with him, with reſpect to the Greeks, who ſtill retain the cuſtom of giving the Euchariſt to infants, immediately after Baptiſm: this he gathers from a paſſage of thoſe works, which then paſſed under the name of the *Areopagite*, which makes this cuſtom very ancient; though the Latins underſtood the paſſage not of Children but the Adult."

THE concluſion of this letter is too judicious, and conveys too uſeful an inſtruction not to be put down at length. "That, ſuppoſing the fact was decided

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on which side he pleased; allowing also, that some remains of this practice might be traced in Latin Writers of good note, as he made no doubt but there might; yet great caution was to be used, as *Cochleus* himself very prudently observed, lest by undertaking a cause, in which there was little prospect of success, how well soever he was affected to it; he might, contrary to his inclination, greatly injure the Church of *Rome*, which was not favourable to the side he maintained. For if the practice was of that necessity, which his writings insinuated, its omission could not be excused from great ignorance or neglect.—That he perceived a reverence for this Mother Church was what alone hindered him from publishing the work; and that he could not sufficiently commend his piety; of which he had already given substantial proofs in what he had wrote to support her authority, and place it in the most advantageous light."

THE same person having read the decree which the Council had lately passed concerning the Symbol, had remarked with singular satisfaction, that it explicitly declared the Holy Ghost to proceed from the Father and the Son, which had been exprest in the Council of *Nice*. On which occasion, he desires the CARDINAL to inform him of the time when the addition concerning the Holy Spirit's proceeding from the Son was inserted; and thinks he has somewhere read, that the Church of *Rome* had been accustomed to repeat the Symbol in this manner before the *Nicene* Council.—To which the LEGATE replies, "that he did not recollect to have any where met with this reading; but that in a letter of Pope *Damasus* to *Paulinus*, Bishop of *Antioch*, there was mention of a Synod held at *Rome*, immediately after that of *Nice*, in which some things were added concerning

cerning the Holy Ghoſt, which had not been explained in the former: and that this was done to condemn their error, who aſſerted the Holy Ghoſt to have been created by the Son; and he ſuppoſes this letter may have given occaſion to *Cochleus*'s miſtake.—He adds, that this clauſe was not uſed before the firſt Council of *Epheſus*; on which St. *Thomas* obſerves, * that the *Neſtorian* Hereſy, which was there condemned, had moved the Fathers to add this explanation: and though this be the firſt Council in which it is found, yet it is not inſerted in the Symbol; but the Fathers, in a letter to *Neſtorius*, declare "that the third Perſon of the Trinity proceeds from the Father and the Son."

"He goes on to remark, that St. *Thomas* ſays, this addition was inſerted by a Synod which he does not name, held in the Weſt, and approved by the Pope; which the CARDINAL takes to be the firſt Council of *Toledo*, where the Symbol is read with this addition; that it was aſſembled when the *Neſtorian* hereſy chiefly prevailed; was very ancient; and as far as he could collect from the Monuments of the Councils prior to that of *Calcedon.*—This ſays he, is what occurs to me of the time in which the Holy Ghoſt's proceeding from the Son was added to the Symbol."

BUT *Cochleus* had furthermore, ſignified his ſurprize that it could be warrantable to make this addition, after the Council of *Nice*, as that of *Epheſus* had expreſsly ordered that nothing ſhould be added to it.—"This objection, replies the LEGATE, is made by the Greeks to the Latin Church, and the anſwer, he ſays, is ready; that this addition does not vary the ſenſe of the *Nicene* ſymbol, but only illuſtrates what is there declared: for

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had the caſe been otherwiſe, the Fathers could never have forgot themſelves ſo far, as, in the ſame Council, to forbid any thing to be added to a Symbol, and yet declare themſelves, with the greateſt perſpicuity, on a point, on which that was ſilent. This ſufficiently proves that the addition was made, not as a new tenet, but a more explicit profeſſion of the ancient faith, which had never varied; and to obviate the errors of *Neſtorius*, who denied the Holy Ghoſt to proceed from the Son."

A THIRD doubt ſtill remained, in which the CARDINAL was deſired to ſatisfy his friend. This related to the *Athanaſian* Creed, as the Latin Church repeats it, which though very clear in the point here debated, was not alledged in the Council of *Florence*, though many other teſtimonies were cited from the Greek Writers, which prove their ancient Doctors to have held, that the Holy Ghoſt proceeds from the Son no leſs than from the Father, which the modern Greeks there denied.—The CARDINAL tells him, "he had not been aware of this objection, but that he took the cauſe of the omiſſion to be what *Cochleus* mentioned; that the Greeks would have replied to this argument, had it been brought againſt them that the declaration there made had been added to the Symbol: that this was their preſent plea; for having aſked an Archbiſhop of that nation, who came, a few days ſince, to the Council, from the Iſland of *Naxos*, what their opinion was about this matter, his anſwer was, that they flatly denied this addition to be in the ancient Copies of the *Athanaſian* Creed. The fact, adds the CARDINAL, appears to me very probable, as that holy Doctor wrote immediately after the Council of *Nice*, at a time when no doubt had been raiſed of the article here in queſtion. He ſeems, therefore, clear,

clear, that this addition to the *Athanaſian* Creed, which was read in many Churches, was afterwards inſerted on the ſame motive which had induced the Fathers to inſert it into that of *Conſtantinople*, which is recited at the celebration of the ſacred Myſteries *".

All this he writ on the mere ſtrength of his memory, without any aſſiſtance from books †.— The high eſteem he was held in by ſo able a Judge as the perſon who applied for his advice and information, would alone be ſufficient to eſtabliſh a character. I have had occaſion to ſay ſomething of him in another part of this hiſtory, from *Thuanus*; and ſhall only here obſerve, that beſides other ſmaller treatiſes, and the hiſtory of the *Huſſites*, he publiſhed two very conſiderable works, one of *Luther*'s contradictionsand inconſiſtency; the other of his Actions and Writings, which is almoſt a Diary of his life. He had taken great pains to be informed of the particulars which make up this accurate performance; and made them public, that this Reformer's pretenſions to be believed and followed by a deluded People, might be tried by the whole tenour of his conduct and doctrine.

To go back to the Council: the mutual concord of the three Legates ſince the opening of it, which was now ſomething more than a year, had been remarkable; and the high eſteem in which the Engliſh Cardinal was held by all. " Of this, ſays *Becatelli*, I can cite myſelf as a witneſs, having ſerved them ſeveral months in quality of

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 4ª. pag. 5, et ſeq.

† Habes, ergo, ad omnia, quantum memoriâ ipsâ colligere potui, quæ aliquando de hâc quæſtione legi. *Ibidem*, page 11.

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Secretary *. At the conclusion of the fifth Session an indisposition obliged him to leave *Trent*, and exchange the sharpness of that air, for the temperature of that of *Padua*, of which he had always found a favourable influence, and where there was choice of eminent Physicians. He had, likewise, the convenience of an agreeable country Seat, called *Trevilla*, in the neighbourhood of that City, which belonged to his friend *Priuli*; from whence, soon after his arrival, he wrote the following letter to his Collegues. " All the information I can give your Lordships of my health, since I left *Trent*, is, that it seems rather better than worse: not that my pains have ceased, but they are less acute, and I have passed three nights without being obliged to leave my bed. The exercise I take either of riding, or in a vehicle, is of greater use to me than any thing besides. Yesterday I had two Physicians from *Padua*, who after consulting, at leisure, on my case, declared, if I did not take great care of myself, I was in danger of a stroke of the Palsy. They have left their opinion in writing, which I am to send to *Fracastorio* †, that he may give his advice,

* Vita *Poli*, fol. 17.

† He was not less famous for his excellence in Poetry than his skill in Physic. His *Siphilis*, is one of the most finished compositions either of the elegant age he lived in, or of any other. The City of *Verona*, of which he was a native, and had been a principal Ornament, erected a Statue to his memory, with this inscription;

HIERONYMO FRACASTORIO,
PAULI PHILIPPI F.
Ex Publicâ Authoritate,
Anno MDLIX.
Thuani Hist. l. 4.

which,

which, as ſoon as I receive, I ſhall be in a condition to judge what courſe I ought to take; and will not fail to give your Lordſhips an account of every thing that concerns me, by the Abbe of *San-Salute*, whom I ſhall ſend to *Trent*, to make my compliments to Cardinal *Farneſe*, as he paſſes through that City *." A few weeks after, he writ to them again, as follows: Your Lordſhips letters are a powerful inducement to me to return to *Trent*, beſides that motive, which ſhould have more weight with me than any other conſideration. His Holineſs's pleaſure, which he has ſignified to me by my Lord Chamberlain. But I am in a worſe ſtate of health than I have yet been; and beſides the complaint of my arm, which is become more painful, I have alſo that of my left ſhoulder, and eye, which is greatly affected. As I perceive the diſorders I labour under increaſe, and his Holineſs refers me to you, to know his pleaſure concerning the meaſures I am to take, I have ſent the Abbe to inform you of my preſent condition. The Phyſicians affirm, if I go again to *Trent*, I expoſe myſelf to the riſque of being lame for life; which can anſwer no purpoſe: But, ſuppoſing it could, his Holineſs's meaning can never be that I ſhould ſerve him on ſuch terms. For theſe reaſons, I would not take upon me to go to *Padua*, nor put myſelf into the hands of the Phyſicians, till I underſtood more clearly what his orders were; and, therefore, am about to diſpatch the Abbe with all the expedition to *Rome*, to inform him of the whole ſtate of my affairs, that at his return, I may, without any tergiverſation, comport myſelf as it ſhall pleaſe him to command me †."

* Epiſt. *R. Poli,* pars 4ª. pag. 189. † *Ibid.* pag. 193.

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THE two other Legates, likewiſe, deſired his intereſt with ſeveral Prelates, who, on account of their health, were at *Padua*, or in the neighbourood of *Trevilla* where he was, to prevail on them to return to the Council. "I have uſed my endeavours, ſays he, in his anſwer, with the Prelates who have been with me, to have them comply with your Lordſhips deſire; and they all ſeem diſpoſed to do ſo. I ſpeak of thoſe who are on the recovery: but they put off their departure, till ſome urgent cauſe requires their preſence, ſuch as the next Seſſion of the Council, when it is reſolved on: or to deliberate on transferring the Council to ſome
9th *Sept.* 1546. other City *." For now a report prevailed of a contagious diſtemper being broke out at *Trent*: the country about ſwarmed with Lutheran Troops; and the Emperor and the Court of *Rome* began to be on ill terms. Theſe reaſons cauſed the Pope to deſire the Council might be transferred to a place of greater ſecurity and freedom, and to be earneſt for the Engliſh LEGATE's return, as his influence and credit were of great weight, and the Pontiff thought he might rely on them.

I HAVE dwelt longer on the incidents which attended the LEGATE's leaving *Trent*, than may ſeem neceſſary; becauſe ſome of the Reformers have aſſerted, that his real motive for ſo doing was to avoid being preſent at the Decree concerning Juſtification, which was to paſs in the following Seſſion; and in which, ſay they, he widely differed from his Collegues and the other Fathers. But the letters I have cited, and many more, which witneſs how much his return was deſired, ſhew, at the ſame time, they ſo little apprehended his opinion would interfere with theirs in framing this Decree, that they were perſuaded of the

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 4ª. pag. 197.

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ſingular uſe his preſence would have been to them.

But nothing can prove with greater evidence that the Legate's ſentiments, concerning this point, agreed with what the Council of *Trent* has defined on it, than the following extract from one of his letters. " Let us examine, ſays he, the other Articles, on which the German accuſes me. He objects, in the firſt place, that I am informed of the truth of the Goſpel, particularly of what regards Juſtification, but have taken great pains to conceal it from the Italians. If by this Truth, in which he will have me ſo knowing, he means that we are juſtified by Faith alone without Works, I readily grant that I am acquainted with this doctrine; but I did not learn it in their Schools, or from their Interpreters. I have received it from the Apoſtle St. *Paul*, as he is expounded by the Catholic Church. Yet even this did not give me a clear perception of it, till the Apoſtle St. *James*, and the expoſition of the ſame Church had informed me that we were likewiſe juſtified by Works. Thoſe, on the contrary, who diſſent from us, ſay, they too have learnt what the Apoſtle teaches concerning this Article, but refuſe to hearken to the Church's voice, and to enter into the meaning of St. *James*, who, in order to prove that we are juſtified by Works, makes uſe of the ſame example of *Abraham*, which St. *Paul* had alledged to ſhew this to be effected by Faith. Whilſt therefore, they liſten to one authority, and ſet aſide the other, they underſtand neither; but divide what the Church unites, ſeparate themſelves from her communion, and employ that doctrine to raiſe feuds and diſſentions, which was deſigned to conciliate peace between God and Man. As for myſelf, who have been inſtructed by the Church's interpretation, to

join theſe authorities I continue in her communion, and reap great profit from each paſſage of the two Apoſtles. Our Adverſaries would reap the ſame advantage, did they pay a deference to the ſame authority, and rely on that foundation which is the baſe of truth. That this at length, may be their caſe, we are conſtantly to ſupplicate the Almighty; as indeed we do *.

WHILST the LEGATE was at *Trevilla*, the French Ambaſſadors returned to *Trent*, and were placed in the Council below thoſe of the Emperor. The Pope, alſo, had ſent thither *Laines* and *Salmeron*, to aſſiſt in quality of his Divines. They were two of the firſt Aſſociates of *Ignatius* of *Loyola*, who was now forming an Inſtitute, which, at different times and places, has met with the greateſt ſucceſs, and ſharpeſt oppoſition; and been the theme of as much praiſe and oblcquy, as were ever beſtowed on the moſt diſtant extremes.

17th *July*, *Verallo* Bp. of *Roſſano*. IN the next General Aſſembly the Fathers entered on the ſubject of Juſtification, which, as a Prelate wrote to the Legates from *Ratiſbon*, "had been the fatal ſtumbling-block to *Germany*. This Article takes in the Means by which Man is entitled to the favour of his Maker, and to thoſe bleſſings which are the conſequence of it; and there is no point of the Chriſtian belief, from which the errors and fanaticiſm of thoſe times had deviated into ſo many impious abſurdities. To the original wanderings of *Luther* and *Calvin* their Diſciples who had forſaken their Leaders with the ſame licentiouſneſs which induced them to leave the Catholic Church had added endleſs contentions which they fell into among themſelves.

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 4ª. pag. 150. ex Epiſtolâ ad Card. *Auguſt*.

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—It was an object, therefore, worthy the peculiar attention of the Council to ascertain the Christian Doctrine concerning so important a point, in which Morality was no less interested than Faith; and to inform the World, that the Catholic Church was alike exempt from those daring and senseless Extremes, by which Religion is not more violated than Reason.

THE matter being proposed in the Council, it was debated with such warmth, by two of the Prelates, that one of them forgot himself so far, as to strike the other; on which the Fathers ordered the Offender to leave *Trent*, and return no more; and to throw himself at the Pope's feet, and ask pardon for his transgression: but the Pope permitted the Legates to absolve, and send him to his Diocese. The subject which was now before the Assembly had been sufficiently examined in special Committees; and in a general meeting of the 17th of *July*, a plan was drawn up of what had been agreed on. But before the Fathers held the Session, in which they were to pass the definitive sentence, so great was their deference to CARDINAL POLE, that they sent him the result of their resolutions, with the amendments, in order to have his opinion before they passed the decree. On this he writ to the Legates in the manner following. " I have received a Copy of the Decree concerning Justification, on which your Lordships are pleased to ask my opinion: and, to be sincere, I don't see what I can say on the subject, as it contains many things, on which I should desire an explanation, which, being absent, I cannot have. Besides, I am too much out of order to be in a condition to think, much less to write on a matter of such importance. Nevertheless, to shew my deference to your Lordships, and, at the same time, comply with my duty, I will not fail to revise,

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and examine it, in the beſt manner I am able, and to let your Lordſhips have my ſentiments by a perſon I ſhall intruſt in the whole affair and ſend to you. This I hope to do in a few days, and, therefore, ſhall ſay nothing of it at preſent *." Accordingly, four days after, he diſpatched a Doctor of Divinity, with whom he was particularly acquainted, to inform them of what had occurred to him on the Decree; and the Legates, in their anſwer, aſſured him of the ſatisfaction they had received from what *Moriglia* had communicated to them.

THE Council having received in *October*, CARDINAL POLE's remarks, with the further explications he had judged proper ſhould be made, proceeded, on the 13th of *January* of the following
1547. year, to the ſixth Seſſion, in which they define what faith teaches concerning Juſtification and good Works. This decree takes in ſixteen ſhort chapters, which declare the Catholic Doctrine on this Article, and thirty-three Canons in which the contrary errors and their Abettors are condemned.

THE Syſtem here laid down has been looked on as very luminous and comprehenſive, and equal to any plan of Doctrine of former Councils, or of any other Writings. The preciſion, order, and perſpicuity, with which it is delivered, have, likewiſe, been the admiration of all, who have read it with attention, and weighed the different poſitions, the principles on which they are grounded, their connection, and the whole ſum of doctrine, which reſults from them. I ſhall preſent the Reader with the heads only of the Chapters, as he may conſult the Original; and a longer detail would not ſuit this place.

AFTER a brief Introduction, wherein the Fathers ſet forth the neceſſity they lay under, for the

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 4ª. pag. 199, et 201.

glory of God, the tranquillity of the Church, and the ſalvation of Souls, to publiſh to all the Faithful the doctrine concerning Juſtification, ſuch as JESUS CHRIST, "the Son of righteouſneſs and the Author and Finiſher of our faith" has taught; the Apoſtles, delivered down; and the Catholic Church, through the inſpiration of the holy Spirit, always maintained; they begin the Decree by declaring the inſufficiency of human reaſon and of the Moſaical law, in order to Juſtification, and the neceſſity of the Incarnation of JESUS CHRIST; they declare who thoſe are, who are juſtified by him; they deſcribe the juſtification of a Sinner, and ſhew in what it conſiſts; they eſtabliſh the obligation which thoſe, who have attained the uſe of reaſon, lie under of diſpoſing themſelves to it; and expound what theſe preparatory diſpoſitions are: They enter on the nature and cauſe of Juſtification, which they teach to be gratuitous, that is, voluntary on the part of God, without any claim or merit of Man. They expound in what ſenſe the wicked are underſtood to be gratuitouſly juſtified by Faith; they oppugn the preſumptuous confidence of Heretics, and deſcend to a detail of the means by which righteouſneſs is increaſed; they aſſert the poſſibility of obſerving the Commandments, and the duty of ſo doing; they condemn a vain and raſh preſumption of ſalvation; and treat of the gift of perſeverance, of relapſing into ſin, and the remedy; and ſhew that deadly ſin cauſes the Delinquent to forfeit his grace or favour with God, but not his faith in him: laſtly, they explain the neceſſity of good Works, and in what their merit conſiſts.

THIS Decree, as it now ſtands, was found, as has been obſerved elſewhere, among the CARDINAL's papers, and publiſhed with ſome other writings of his, by his Chamberlain *Pening*. It was written at full length, in his own hand, and fur-

niſhes a ſtrong preſumption that the Fathers of the Council judged the form in which they drew up this important Article, with the Alterations he propoſed, the moſt proper to define, confirm, and explain the truths contained in it. Nor can any inſtance do more honour to his memory, than that the whole Catholic Church ſhould conſider him as a particular inſtrument of the divine Spirit, in declaring a doctrine ſo much contradicted by the Innovators, and on which ſo venerable a Body as the Council of *Trent* ſhould defer to his opinion with ſuch a ſignification of their eſteem.

SOON after he had return'd the Copy of the above-mentioned Decree to the Legates, he ſignified to them, " that the Pope having given him leave to go to *Rome*, he ſhould ſet out immediately, as they would be more amply informed by his friend, the Lord *Priuli*, whom he had ſent to *Trent* to wait on them, in his name.—That they might be aſſured of his readineſs to be of ſervice to them on all occaſions, either with the Pope or others; and that he beſought the Almighty to proſper what they were carrying on to his glory." Shortly after, being come to *Rome*, he informs them, " that he had laid before his Holineſs every thing they had charged him with, and repreſented how deſerving they were of thoſe marks of eſteem and good will to which an approved fidelity, parts and diligence in the public cauſe are intitled, and which made their demands rather an act of juſtice than favour—that, as yet, the Pope had only teſtified the higheſt ſatisfaction at their conduct, without entering on any particulars as to what they requeſted of him; but that he would not fail, on every opportunity, to be a Solicitor in their behalf, with the ſame cordiality he ſhould, on the like occaſion, deſire and expect from them *."

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 4ª. pag. 201, 202.

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The Decree concerning Juſtification being paſſed in this manner, the Fathers proceeded to what regarded diſcipline and a reformation of manners; and fixed the reſidence of Biſhops and the inferior Clergy, which require it either by law or cuſtom.— It had been propoſed in a Committee, where this matter was debated, to define whether ſuch reſidence was of divine right or not; but the Pope, to whom the Legates communicated whatever paſſed in the Council, oppoſed this deciſion. However, in a Conſiſtory held ſoon after, he made a decree, by which the Cardinals are declared ſubject to it, and thoſe, who had two Biſhopricks, obliged to reſign one. The Council ſubjects the ſecular and regular Clergy to the correction of their reſpective Biſhops, and regulates the manner in which the viſitation of Chapters of Cathedral and other Churches is to be made by the Ordinary; and concludes by forbidding Biſhops to perform any Epiſcopal function out of their Juriſdiction. 18th *Feb.*

It took up a conſiderable time to prepare the matter of the ſeventh Seſſion, on account of the difficulties which occurred in explaining the doctrine of the Sacraments in general, which was to be the ſubject of it; and the Reformation of manners, which the Spaniſh Biſhops and all who were attached to the Emperor, were reſolved to inſiſt on with the utmoſt vigour. The Pope being conſulted, returned anſwer to the Legates not to enter on any particular explanation of the Doctrine of the Sacraments, but only to publiſh the Canons or Rule which defines what it is to be held concerning them, as they had done in treating of original Sin. In conſequence of theſe directions, thirty canons, and the Decree of Diſcipline, which contained fifteen chapters were read and approved by the Council. The latter regulates the election of the Biſhops, and other beneficed clergymen, and forbids holding above one Biſhoprick; treats of the incompatibility of bene-

fices, and the method of proceeding againſt thoſe, who on what title ſoever, hold ſuch as are incompatible: and of the union of ſuch benefices made within the laſt forty years, if any fraud was uſed to obtain it. The Council orders perpetual Vicars to be placed in thoſe which have the care of ſouls annexed to them, and have always been united to Cathedral or other Churches, or to any other religious foundations: and provides for whatever belongs to the viſitation and repair of ſacred Edifices, to the conſecration of Prelates, and the authority of Chapters during the vacancy of the See. It reſtrains diſpenſations of being promoted to holy Orders by any indeterminate Prelate, and preſcribes the examination of all perſons preſented to benefices, to be made by the Dioceſan. The Decree concludes with the cognizance of civil cauſes, in which privileged perſons are concerned; and the Juriſdiction over Hoſpitals, which the Council aſſigns to the Ordinary.

THIS Seſſion being over, the removal from *Trent* to ſome other place, for the reaſons already mentioned, became the object of the Fathers conſideration: and in the eighth Seſſion, which
1547. was held on the 11th of *March*, it was carried by a majority of thirty-eight againſt ſeventeen. The Legates had cauſed the commiſſion to be read, by which they were empowered to take this ſtep, and declared their motives for ſo doing, and propoſed *Bologna*; which being aſſented to by ſo great a Majority, they adjourned to the 21ſt of *April*. Nothing more was then done, and on the next day, the Prelates, who had agreed to the motion, ſet out for that City. This proceeding, as *Pallavicini* relates, ſo irritated the Emperor, that in a paſſionate ſpeech, he ſaid, "the Pope was an obſtinate old man, who would ruin the Church." Thoſe who oppoſed this meaſure were the Spaniſh Biſhops and other Subjects of the

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Emperor, on a pretence that the Council would no longer be free, as *Bologna* was ſubject to the Pope, and that thoſe of the Germanic Body, who had embraced Lutheraniſm, and had hitherto been hindered by their Diets, would no longer think of coming at all. Their Deputies had promiſed, at a general meeting lately held at *Auſburg*, to ſubmit to the Council, provided it was held at *Trent*, and all matters in debate were decided by the Scriptures and the Writings of the Fathers: and the Emperor, on his part, had engaged, there ſhould be an entire freedom and ſecurity for all who aſſiſted at it: and that Biſhops from all Chriſtian Provinces ſhould be preſent, either in perſon, or by their Repreſentatives. But theſe Articles were ſcarcely ſettled, when a conſiderable miſunderſtanding broke out between this Prince and the Pontiff on account of the Dutchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*, and determined *Charles* to enter a proteſt againſt the removal of the Council, which he notified, by his Envoy, to the Fathers at *Bologna*; and by *Mendoza*, at *Rome*.

The Engliſh Legate, though he had now recovered his health, did not return to his Collegues at *Bologna*, being detained at *Rome* by the Pope, who was deſirous to have him near his perſon, that he might conſult him on the emergencies of the Council, which became every day more intricate, and on whatever concerned Religion in general. He was likewiſe, of ſingular ſervice in all tranſactions with foreign Courts, and in drawing up memorials and inſtructions which regarded them. "He acquitted himſelf of this truſt with great eaſe, ſays his Secretary *Becatelli*, having acquired, from his youth, a facility of expreſſing himſelf, and an uncommon inſight into all manner of buſineſs*." I ſhall exemplify this in two inſtances, and give an abſtract of the firſt.

* Vita *Poli*, fol. 18.

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It is a Reply to the Emperor's Proteſt, in which the principal grievance alledged, was, "the Pope's remiſſneſs in the care of the Church, and his evaſive and affected delays in holding a Council. On the other hand, *Mendoza* extolled his Imperial Majeſty's ſolicitude in that affair, as the only remedy to the preſent Evils.—He repreſented the Decree of transferring the Council as a party buſineſs, managed by ſome Biſhops, who were devoted to the Pontiff's will, as ſeditious and irregular, and contrary to eccleſiaſtical laws and cuſtoms, and as ſuch he inſiſted on its being annulled.—He complained that the Pope had paid no regard to the Emperor and to the King of the Romans, who requeſted the continuation of the Council at *Trent*; and that he ſhewed little concern for the welfare of the Germanic Body.—He repreſented the Pope's anſwer to the Emperor on theſe heads as foreign to the purpoſe, and void of ſincerity, and concluded with a kind of threat, that his Majeſty would impute to him whatever detriment the Chriſtian cauſe ſuffered, which, he ſaid, ſhould not want a Protector, ſhould the Pope not act up to that Character."

To this remonſtrance the Legate made the following reply. "He began by complaining, in his turn, that the Emperor teſtified little gratitude for the many and important ſervices the Pope had done him, in his late wars; to which he had furniſhed troops and money, beyond what the Eccleſiaſtical Exchequer and State could well bear.—That, the proceedings he held with his Holineſs, were not only highly unſeaſonable at the preſent juncture, but had ſeldom been uſed, unleſs by thoſe who had caſt off their obedience to the holy See, or wavered in it.—He then ſhews that the Ambaſſador had exceeded his powers, and, conſequently, that whatever he had done was void. And having cauſed the Imperial mandate

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to be read, he pointed out where *Mendoza* had acted counter to the ſubſtance of his commiſſion; and then added, there was great reaſon to thank Almighty God, that, whereas there had not been wanting ſeditious and turbulent Spirits to impel his Imperial Majeſty to unwarrantable meaſures, yet ſuch had been the watchfulneſs of ptovidence, in ſo critical an occaſion, as not only not to ſuffer him to give any written orders contrary to the peace and tranquility of the Church, but had opened a true and legal way, by which it might be eſtabliſhed.—That though the anſwer already given might be deemed ſufficient to whatever *Mendoza* had advanced, yet, leſt his ſpeech might leave an ill impreſſion on minds not informed of the real ſtate of the queſtion, he would remove the whole blame with which his objections were fraught.—He then proceeds to ſhew, that the Pontiff, whilſt he was a private perſon, did not only declare a ſincere deſire of a general Council, during the popedoms of *Leo* and *Clement*, as was well known to the ſacred College, and particularly to thoſe who were then choſen into it; but had continued in the ſame diſpoſitions ſince his advancement to the papacy, and been always ready at every glimmering of ſucceſs, to ſummon it.—That he had done this, firſt, at *Mantua*, then, at *Vicenza*; and, if he had failed, the real cauſe was, that a few Prelates came to the former, and none to the latter.—That his Legates had waited ſix months at *Vicenza*, expecting, to no purpoſe, the arrival of the Prelates, whom he had invited by letters; at the ſame time that his Ambaſſadors as vainly deſired the reſpective Sovereigns at the Courts where they were, to haſten the Prelates ſetting out; which tergiverſation was owing not to the unfitneſs of either City for the purpoſe, but to the wars which were

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then waged between the Chriſtian Princes, in which the Emperor had ſo large a ſhare; whereas the Pope had left nothing untried, to reconcile them to each other."

Coming, after this, to anſwer what *Mendonza* had objected to the ſpirit of party, which had cauſed the Biſhops, who were attached to the Pope, to transfer the Council, he makes this fine reflection: "That, if the Ambaſſador meant to blame thoſe, who removed to *Bologna*, for their attachment to the Pope, and to praiſe thoſe, who remained at *Trent*, for being otherwiſe affected; he did not ſeem aware of the conſequence of ſuch ſentiments, ſince Schiſm owed its riſe to no other cauſe than a want of deference, in ſome of the Epiſcopal Order, to the holy See. But, if by Prelates attached to his Holineſs, he underſtood ſuch as were ſo devoted to him, as to be ready to give into all meaſures right or wrong, the Pope was unacquainted with any of that proſtitute character; having no intereſt to conſult, and no party to eſpouſe, but that of a common Father, with reſpect to all the Faithful, who were his Children, and to the whole Flock, of which he was paſtor—That, in the Council there was nothing to be controverted which required partiality —that he deſired the Biſhops ſhould be no otherwiſe attached to him, than was conſiſtent with the rectitude of their own ſentiments; and the liberty to which all Councils had a particular claim; and that there was nothing he had recommended with greater earneſtneſs to his Legates, at their departure, than not to give he Fathers any ſhadow of complaint that their freedom in voting was reſtrained." * As to what *Mendonza* had advanced of the illegality of the removal, "the Legate demonſtrates it could never be conſidered in that

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 4ª. pag. 392. Sin vero, &c.

light

light by any equitable and rightly informed Judge, as the meaſure being propoſed to the whole aſſembly, had been aſſented to by a great majority, and on the beſt grounded motives, in conſequence of which it was authorized by his Legates, in whom all law and cuſtoms human and divine, acknowledge that power.—He obſerves, that the Emperor and King of the Romans had no reaſon to complain of the Pope's paying little regard to their deſire of recalling back the Council to *Trent*, and making ſmall account of the welfare of *Germany*, which had cauſed them to requeſt it. That the Pope had never abſolutely refuſed this return provided it was effected in a legal manner, and the welfare of a part ſo conſulted as not to bring a detriment on the whole.—That the Council had already met twice at *Trent*, in favour of the Germanic Body; that at the firſt meeting few or none of the Germans came to it, though the Legates *Pariſius*, *Moron*, and himſelf remained there ſeven months, whereas *Mendoza*, *Granvelle*, and the Biſhop of *Arras*, could not be prevailed on to ſtay more than a few days, although their preſence would have been a powerful inducement to others to come to the Council. —That, at the ſecond meeting, when the Council was opened, and every circumſtance ſeemed to favour its ſucceſs, it was but too viſible how few of that nation in general were preſent at it, and not even one of thoſe who ſtood moſt in need of ſuch an aid, and whoſe welfare was chiefly conſulted. --As *Mendoza* had only aſſerted in general, that the Pope's anſwer to the Emperor's letter, was evaſive, and foreign to the purpoſe, without coming to any particular, which proved it to be ſo; the Legate replied, it was ſufficient for him to aſſert, on the contrary, that the accuſation was groundleſs,

and

and the Pope's anſwer void of guile or duplicity, and ſuch as equity, and the circumſtances of the time and cauſe demanded.

" THE Ambaſſador had furthermore declared, that though the Emperor muſt impute whatever miſchief befell the Church to the Pope's remiſſneſs in the due execution of his charge, yet he, the Emperor, would not be wanting to her protection: on which the LEGATE remarks, it were to be wiſhed *Mendoza* had been more cautious and reſpectful in his expreſſions; but, however, his Holineſs would uſe his beſt endeavours to comply with the duties annexed to his high ſtation; but, if he failed, he ſtill comforted himſelf that the Emperor's vigilance would ſupply any deficiency on his part, provided his Majeſty undertook the care within thoſe limitations which were mentioned in the Proteſt; that is, as far as was agreeable to equity, and had been allowed and practiſed by the laws of the Church, the Decrees of the Fathers, and the conſent of the World. If the Emperor did this, his Holineſs had every reaſon to hope, that under the favour of heaven, all the Evils mentioned in the Proteſt would be prevented, and there would be no further occaſion for ſuch unwarrantable proceedings; ſince his own diligence in the diſcharge of his duty ſhould ever be ſuch, that if the Emperor performed what he here promiſed, each of them, in their reſpective ſtations, would contribute to the public good, and to the peace of Chriſtianity."—This anſwer was read in a private conſiſtory, at which *Mendoza* was preſent, and then delivered to him in writing, on the firſt of *February* 1548 *.

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 4ª, pag. 382.

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The Emperor not ſatisfied with proteſting againſt the tranſlation of the Council, ſoon after, publiſhed the *Interim*, or proviſional Edict; and, notwithſtanding the Pope's oppoſition, cauſed it to be received at the Diet of *Auſburg*, and by moſt of the Imperial Cities. It was a Formulary, drawn up in 36 Articles, concerning matters of Faith and Diſcipline, which was to have force till the General Council came to a determination on theſe heads. Two things in it were particularly diſpleaſing to the Pope: the marriage of Prieſts, which was allowed; and the communion in both kinds, which was permitted where it had been introduced: and it gave him, moreover, great offence, that a lay Potentate ſhould uſurp the Sacerdotal function, and take on himſelf to regulate what concerned Religion. This proceeding was not diſapproved of by the Pope alone, but generally condemned by Proteſtants and Catholics; the latter of whom compared it to the *Henotic* of *Zenon*, the *Ecthesis* of *Heraclius*, and the *Type* of *Conſtance*. The Emperor had publiſhed with it another Edict concerning Reformation, which met with leſs oppoſition; and the Regulations there laid down, were adopted by ſeveral Provincial Councils, and, namely by that of *Auſburg*, where the Catholic Religion had been reſtored a year after its proſcription.

Among the ſeveral Writings which were publiſhed from all parts againſt the *Interim*, that which appeared at *Rome* was the moſt conſiderable. The Engliſh Cardinal was deſired to lend his aſſiſtance in this occaſion alſo, to the labouring cauſe of Religion; and, having finiſhed the anſwer to the Proteſt, was placed at the head of ſome able and eminent Prelates, who were appointed to refute and ſet forth the evil tendency of the Formulary. His leiſure during this abſence from

the Council was partly taken up in theſe occupations, which concerned the general welfare of Chriſtianity, and partly in his Government at *Viterbo*, which was his ſpecial department.

In the mean time the Prelates, who were aſſembled at *Bologna*, held the ninth Seſſion on the 21ſt of *April*, the day to which they had adjourned on leaving *Trent*. As none were preſent but Italians, nothing more was done than to adjourn to the ſecond of *June*; when, for the ſame reaſon, they adjourned again to the 15th of *September*; and, that this Seſſion might not be ſo univerſal a blank as the two laſt, they paſſed an order for tranſlating the ſermons of the Fathers and ancient Doctors into the vulgar languages, and gave *Frolimont*, Biſhop of *Seſſa*, the charge of the Italian verſion, which has ſince been continued by the Benedictine Monks of *Florence*. This was the laſt Seſſion which was held at *Bologna*, for the two Legates perceiving the ſlowneſs with which the Prelates arrived, prorogued the eleventh to an indeterminate time. The Pope had endeavoured, during his conteſts with the Emperor, to prevail on the Biſhops who remained at *Trent*, to follow the Example of the majority; but as they perſiſted in their firſt reſolution, he ſuſpended the Council, alledging, he would eſtabliſh a Congregation at *Rome*, which ſhould reform manners, and ſettle diſcipline.

What Cardinal Pole's ſentiments were on the breaking up of the General Council, we learn from a letter of his to a Spaniſh Biſhop, with whom he had very intimate connections, and who was no leſs affected than himſelf, at a meaſure which blaſted all his hopes of ſeeing primitive diſcipline revived, and innocence of manners reſtored to all Orders of the Church. The Cardinal tells him, " he conſiders the tears he ſhed on that occaſion, as an earneſt of the ſuccour of Hea-

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ven being near at hand; and ſays, if the ſame contrite ſpirit became univerſal, there was no doubt but every thing, not excepting this laſt diſappointment, would turn out to the advantage of God's people.—That ſuch tears were a heavenly dew, which did not fall on the earth in vain, but prepared it for future beauty and increaſe; and ſeemed alone to have been wanting to the Church's ſo much deſired renovation; as there had been no deficiency of learning, of decrees of canons, of ceremonies, or of any other external aid *.—He reminds him of the uſual diſpenſations of Providence to Mankind, and the delays by which it checks the impotence of human deſires, and makes the bleſſing we ſue for more dear by expectation: this he ſhews, firſt, from inſtances of the Hebrews, to whom even the favours which had been aſſured to them by Almighty God's repeated promiſes, were imparted with a like inſtructive Oeconomy; and when their eagerneſs made them imagine themſelves at the Eve of freedom from the ſlavery of *Ægypt*, or of entering on poſſeſſion of the promiſed land, or of being releaſed from the Babylonian Captivity, they were referred to a more diſtant term, which was fixed by the appointments of Heaven, and not regulated by their impatience.—He then ſhews this to have happened, with ſtill greater evidence, in the contradictions to which the ſaving doctrine of his bleſſed Son was expoſed, and the treatment the divine Author himſelf met with: that mankind could never have a more plauſible reaſon of complaining they were deceived, and of taking to themſelves the words of *Iſaiah*, *we have looked for light*, *and*, *behold! darkneſs*; *for a time in which we ſhould be healed*, *and behold! diſ-*

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 4ª. pag. 68. Non enim, &c.

order. All which agreed with the expectation the Saviour of the World had raiſed; and the diſappointment, in which, by his death, it ſeemed to end. And, on the other hand, there never was a time, when the world was involved in groſſer darkneſs, or ſtood more in need of being reformed, than when thoſe hopes vaniſhed.—Nor was the order of heaven changed in the early ſtate of Chriſtianity, which was ſuffered to ſtruggle not months, or years, but whole centuries, with all the adverſe powers on earth combined againſt her.—But He who never errs or leads into error, did not, at his death, deceive his Diſciples, *who expected that He was to redeem Iſrael*, but anſwered all their expectations at that very juncture when they gave up all for loſt; and cauſed his light to ſhine forth with the greateſt brightneſs, when it ſeemed extinguiſhed; ſhewed himſelf the Saviour of the World, when himſelf was conſidered *as one helpleſs among the dead*; and wiped off the tears from their eyes, *who had hoped in him againſt hope itſelf.*"

THE CARDINAL coming, afterwards to his own feelings; the circumſtance of the Conſiſtory, in which the breaking up of the Council was reſolved, being held on *Good Friday*, furniſhed him with the following reflections. "I could not help obſerving, ſays he, that this reſolution was taken on the day when we renew the anniverſary ſorrow for our Redeemer's ſufferings, on which the Council is not called but on very urgent cauſes; and having the afflicted ſtate of the Church full in view, and the laſt great remedy now failing, I own, I was no otherwiſe affected than if I had ſeen my Saviour's dead body before my eyes. In this diſtreſs, it was ſome comfort to me to reflect, that as the ſhort ſadneſs of his death was ſucceeded by the joy of his reſurrection, ſo his Myſ-

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tic body, the Church, might ſo on experience the ſame happy viciſſitude, and riſe again the holy City, the new *Jeruſalem* *."

THIS is the laſt Act in which the CARDINAL appears any ways concerned in the tranſactions of the Council: for *Paul* III. dying a few months after it was prorogued, his Succeſſor, who ſummoned it again, appointed different Legates from thoſe who had before preſided at it. But the zeal which the Engliſh CARDINAL ſhewed for the convening of this Aſſembly, the great ſhare he had in the firſt Seſſions, particularly in that, in which the doctrine of Juſtification was defined, and the defence of the Council during the three following years after he left *Trent*, which lay chiefly on him, cauſe every thing which concerns it, to be connected with his hiſtory, who was its great Ornament and Support. The ſubſequent Seſſions were no leſs important than thoſe whoſe Decrees have been already related, and have been no leſs miſrepreſented by malignity or ignorance. They were, moreover, diverſified by many curious and intereſting Anecdotes, to which particular incidents of the Council gave riſe, and which give a great inſight into its general character. I ſhall, therefore preſent the Reader with a ſuccinct and uninterrupted relation of theſe proceedings, and then go back to the preſent period, and reſume the narrative of his Life, who is the ſubject of this Work.

10th *Nov.* 1549.

PAUL III. was ſucceeded by the Cardinal *del Monte*, who had been one of the Legates that preſided at the Council, and took the name of *Julius* III. Two days after his coronation, the Jubilee was opened with the uſual ſolemnity. The

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 4ª. Epiſt. ad Epiſcopum *Pacenſem*, page 65.

Pope ſtrikes thrice, with a golden hammer, the door of St. *Peter*'s Church, which is called the holy Entrance, and is always mured up, unleſs on this occaſion; and pronounces, at the ſame time, theſe words of the 117th Pſalm, *Open to me the Gates of Righteouſneſs, I will go into them, I will praiſe the Lord: this Gate of the Lord, into which the Righteous ſhall enter.* The brick work is then thrown down, and the Pope kneels down before the Door, which the Penitentiaries of St. *Peter* waſh with holy water: then riſing, he takes the Croſs, intones the *Te Deum*, and enters the Church. At the ſame time, three Cardinals are deputed to St. *John Lateran*'s, St. *Paul*'s, and St. *Mary* Major's, and open the holy Door of theſe Churches with the ſame ceremonies.

THE new Pope, ſoon after his election, ſignified his intention of continuing the Council, and having *Trent* the Seat of it, and a Decree was publiſhed accordingly on the 14th of *November*, 1550. The Lutherans, and others, who had ſeparated themſelves from the Church, and were then holding a Diet at *Auſburg*, inſiſted on a reviſion of the Decrees already made in the former Seſſions, which the Pope not agreeing to, they were with great difficulty prevailed on to acknowledge the authority of the Council. This ſecond opening was made on the firſt of *May* of the following year, by the Legates, *Creſcentio*, Cardinal of St. *Marcellus*, *Sebaſtian*, Archbiſhop of *Siponto*, and *Lewis Lipoman*, Biſhop of *Verona*, who were joined in the commiſſion with a deſign to honour the Epiſcopacy, and take away all further occaſion of complaints and jealouſies that Cardinals alone were employed in that high poſt. The Fathers paſſed an Act at this meeting, by which the Council was reſumed, and then adjourned to the firſt of *September*.

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The Seſſion held on that day was the twelfth, and was opened by a diſcourſe of the Cardinal Legate. He was taken up by the celebrated *Amiot*, who entered a Proteſt againſt the Pope's proceedings, in the name of the French King, *Henry* II. who had ſucceeded to *Francis* I. The Pontiff had declared this Prince excommunicated on account of the ſuccour he gave to *Octavio Farneſe*, and threatened to lay his Kingdom under an Interdict. *Henry* was ſo piqued at this behaviour, that he forbade the French Biſhops to go to the Council, and money to be ſent out of the Kingdom to *Rome*, on any pretext whatever; and commanded his Subjects to have recourſe to their Ordinaries in all Eccleſiaſtical affairs: but at the ſame time, he informed *France* and the reſt of *Europe*, that his diſagreement with the Pope had not abated his reſpect and zeal for Religion, and he cauſed ſevere enquiries to be made concerning the growth of Calviniſm, which had now overſpread a Nation fond of Novelty, and, when not under a proper reſtraint, prone to licentiouſneſs. Nothing that was properly the object of the Council, nor any other buſineſs, beſides the French King's Proteſt, having paſſed in this Seſſion; the Decree concerning the Euchariſt was made in the following, on the 11th of *October*, to which day the Fathers had adjourned. The Doctrine is ſet forth in eight chapters; and twelve canons or deciſions condemn the late hereſies, concerning this capital Article of the Catholic Religion. The doctrinal part treats of the real preſence of JESUS CHRIST in the Euchariſt; of the manner of its inſtitution; of its excellence, and of tranſubſtantiation; of the worſhip due to JESUS CHRIST in the Sacrament; on which occaſion the Council expreſly approves of the annual ſolemnity, by which its inſtitution was commemorated, and of

carrying the holy Host in solemn processions. It treats, afterwards, of keeping the Eucharist in Churches, and carrying it to the sick; of the dispositions, by which the Faithful are to prepare themselves to receive it, and of the manner of receiving; and exhorts them to live in such innocence of manners, as to be in a condition to receive it often.—It is remarkable, that in the Chapter on Transubstantiation, the Fathers are silent as to the manner, by which the body of our Lord becomes present in the Eucharist, and in this have set the Schools a lesson of that decent reservedness, which they ill observed before, and have as little attended to since.—A Decree concerning Discipline passed likewise in this Session, which contains several regulations of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction and is divided into eight chapters.--The minutes of the Safe-conduct, which the Council was to grant to the Lutherans of *Germany*, and others who had left the communion of the Church, were read; and a draught of the answer, which the Fathers were minded to make to the French King's Protest.

THE Sacraments of Penitence, and extreme Unction, or the last Anointing, were the subjects of the 14th Session, which was held about six weeks after; the former of which takes up nine chapters; the latter, four: which are followed, agreeably to the plan which the Council had settled at its first meeting, by fifteen canons or definitions concerning these matters. The Chapters on Penitence treat particularly of its necessity, and institution, and in what it differs from Baptism; of its parts and effects; of Contrition, or perfect sorrow, proceeding from the pure love of God; and of imperfect sorrow, termed Attrition, which though insufficient to justify the Sinner without the Sacrament of Penitence, yet *disposes* him

him to a reconciliation with God, in that Sacrament, provided it include a reſolution to ſin no more, and a hope of pardon. This imperfect or initial ſorrow is declared to be a gift of God, and an impulſe of the holy Spirit, not indeed, as a Gueſt who inhabits the ſoul, but who moves and excites it. It had been firſt reſolved, in the committees, to make uſe of a word of ſtronger import than *diſpoſes*; but, by the advice of ſome of the Biſhops, the latter was employed, as more ſuitable. The Council having treated of the firſt part of the Sacrament of Penitence, or of ſorrow for having offended Almighty God, comes to confeſſion, which is the ſecond; of which it declares Biſhops and Prieſts to be the Miniſters: it ſpeaks, likewiſe, of Abſolution, and approves of reſerving heinous crimes to the cognizance of the Dioceſan, or even of the Pope; and, laſtly, of thoſe Works which are enjoined to atone for ſin, and appeaſe an offended God, and are, therefore, termed *Satisfaction*; which is the laſt of the three parts of this Sacrament. This Decree concludes with the Sacrament of Extreme Unction, as to its inſtitution, effects, the Miniſter who is to confer it, and the time when it is to be received.—The Decree concerning Reformation and Diſcipline, which, as had hitherto been practiſed, was joined to that which concerned Faith, contains fourteen Articles: the ſecond of which limits the power of Biſhops *in partibus*, that is, who have titles in heathen or other Countries, where they have no reſidence: the third authorizes Biſhops to correct abuſes, and will have no appeal ſuſpend the effect of their ſentence: the fifth forbids the union of Benefices in different Dioceſes: the tenth orders that benefices annexed to a Religious profeſſion be conferred on perſons of that calling.

The Ambaſſadors of the German Princes and States, who had left the communion of the Ca-

tholic Church, were now arrived at *Trent*, and a general and extraordinary Congregation was held in order to receive them. But before the public Audience, which was given them on the 24th of *January*, 1552, in the Legate's palace, a proteſt was regiſtered in the name of all the Fathers, by which they declare, that the condeſcenſion which the Council was about to ſhew to the German Sectaries in receiving and hearing their Deputies, ſhould not be a precedent. The three Eccleſiaſtical Electors, all the Biſhops, and the Emperor's Ambaſſador were preſent at this Aſſembly; and, on the morrow, when the fifteenth Seſſion was held, an order was made not to proceed to any further deciſions till the 19th of *March*. This was done in favour of the Germans, who aſked this prorogation, that their Divines might come time enough to aſſiſt at the enſuing Seſſion. A Copy of the Safe-conduct granted to them, was likewiſe read, and is much of the ſame form as that which the Council of *Bale* had granted to the Bohemians. Notwithſtanding all theſe precautions, the Germans left *Trent* almoſt as ſoon as they arrived; from a diſſatisfaction, as they gave out, that the Safe-conduct granted to their Divines was not ſufficiently ample: they inſiſted, alſo on their having a deliberative and deciſive voice in the Council; that the Decrees already paſſed, ſhould be examined over again; that all Controverſies concerning Religion ſhould be decided by Scripture alone; and, laſtly, that the Pope ſhould ſubmit himſelf to the Council, and releaſe the Biſhops from the Oath they take to him, that they might be at full liberty to vote as they pleaſed. At the ſame time, *Maurice*, Elector of *Saxony*, recalled his Divines, who were at *Nurenberg*, in their way to *Trent*; and a report prevailing of that Prince's immediate rupture with the Emperor, the Eccleſi-

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aſtical Electors left the Council, and returned to their reſpective ſtates. The Italian Prelates ſeemed only to want a pretext to avail themſelves of their example, which ſoon preſented itſelf by the news of *Maurice* having taken *Auſburg*, and the German Army paſſed the *Alps*. Not long after theſe tranſactions, the peace concluded between the Emperor and the Elector, gave occaſion to the pacification of *Paſſau*, to which the Lutherans have always appealed, as to their ſafeſt bulwark, in all their conteſts with the Catholic Powers.

But as diſorders in every kind, which the novelties in Religion produced, ſtill continued, another conference was held at *Worms*, between the Catholics and the Lutherans, and to as little purpoſe as any of the former; for the Adherents to the Confeſſion of *Auſburg* fell into as great diviſions among themſelves, as thoſe which had ſeparated them from the Church of *Rome*. This conference had been agreed on the year before, by the ſtates of the Empire, at the Diet of *Ratiſbon*; and is the laſt which has been held on affairs of Religion in *Germany*. Though the Council was adjourned to the 21ſt of *March*, it did not meet till the 28th of *April*, when an Act paſſed for ſuſpending it for two years, which twelve Spaniſh Biſhops oppoſed, and entered their proteſt againſt it. The reaſons for this ſuſpenſion are ſpecified in the Decree of the Seſſion, which is the ſixteenth, and the Fathers exhort all Chriſtian Princes and Biſhops to cauſe, as far as depended on them, whatever the Council had hitherto ordained, to be obſerved in their reſpective States and Dioceſes.

After this diſſolution, the Pope thought that a Congregation of his own appointing, for the reformation of manners, would anſwer the purpoſe of a general Council, and furniſh thoſe aids of which the late Act had deprived Chriſtianity. But this attempt proved as fruitleſs as that made

by his Predeceſſor on the like occaſion. The diſorder was too widely ſpread and too deeply rooted, to be removed by a leſs powerful remedy than the united wiſdom of the Epiſcopal order, from the different provinces of the Chriſtian world, who were informed of the true ſtate of their Churches: and the weight and dignity of the Decrees already made was ſuch, that a leſſer authority could not give to what remained, that ſanction which had attended the former Seſſions. *Julius* ſurvived this eſtabliſhment two years, which was enough to let him ſee how unavailing his plan had been; and was ſucceeded by *Marcellus* II. who dying within a month after his election, could not execute any of the great deſigns he had formed for the public welfare. Like his Predeceſſor he had been one of the three Legates, who preſided at the firſt meeting of the Council at *Trent*, and a ſimilitude of manners had connected him cloſely with CARDINAL POLE, who was joined in the ſame commiſſion.

THOUGH his Succeſſor, *Paul* IV. held the papacy five years, and made ſeveral ſalutary efforts to prevent *the Sanctuary from being laid waſte, and the Altar profaned*, yet he took no ſtep towards ſummoning the Council, and finiſhing an edifice, whoſe foundation was laid, and the ſuperſtructure happily raiſed in two of the former Pontificates. His Succeſſor, *Pius* IV. had no ſooner filled St. *Peter*'s Chair, but he declared his intention to ſet about a Work, which his Predeceſſors had left unfiniſhed, and informed not only the Catholic Powers but the Lutheran Princes of it. His Ambaſſadors had an audience of the latter at a Diet they held at *Nurenberg*; but they were ſo taken up with the diviſions which the endleſs variations in their own profeſſions of Faith had occaſioned, that, though every argument was made uſe of to

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ſooth their tempers, and influence their minds, *like the deaf Adder they ſhut their ears to the voice of the Charmer who charmed wiſely.* They were unanimous in nothing, but the extirpation of the Catholic Religion, and ſharing the plunder which the Church lands would ſupply.

THESE delays and diſappointments in the buſineſs of the Council, gave occaſion, in *France*, to the celebrated Conference of *Poiſſy.* The Queen Mother, *Catharine* of *Medici*, who was Regent during the minority of her Son, *Charles* IX. who ſucceeded *Francis* II. had been too eaſily perſuaded by ſome Prelates, whoſe religious Principles were very equivocal, that there was no neceſſity of waiting the deciſion of the holy See; but that a Conference held in the Kingdom between the Catholic Prelates and the Calviniſts, would anſwer all purpoſes. She had already ſignified to the Pope, that, in order to facilitate the return of the latter, ſhe was of opinion, the uſe of pious pictures and images might be laid aſide; the Exorciſms uſed in the adminiſtration of Baptiſm, omitted; Communion in both kinds, univerſally eſtabliſhed; ſinging of the Pſalms in the vulgar tongue, introduced; and the feaſt of *Corpus Chriſti*, aboliſhed.—The Pope had reaſon to apprehend the conſequences of a conference which was to be held, after theſe demands had been made with ſo little reſerve, that the Regent ſeemed to think there could be no inconvenience in granting them. He ſent, therefore, *Hippolitus* of *Eſt*, Cardinal of *Ferrara*, to aſſiſt, in quality of his Legate, at the Aſſembly, and to be watchful on all its proceedings. Several Cardinals, a conſiderable number of Biſhops and Divines, whoſe reputation was very high, were preſent on the part of the Catholics; and thirteen Miniſters, with *Beza*, *Calvin*'s favourite Diſciple, at their head, on that of the Reformers. The King, the

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Regent, the Princes of the blood were ſo placed as to hear all that was ſaid. *Beza* was refuted by the Cardinal of *Lorrain* and *Laines*, the ſecond Superior General of the Jeſuits, with ſuch evidence, that his Aſſociates, having nothing to reply, contented themſelves with turning the arguments brought againſt them into raillery; and *Beza*, in the heat of the diſpute, advanced a propoſition againſt Chriſt's preſence in the Euchariſt, which ſhocked all who were preſent, and brought to their remembrance the blaſphemy he had committed to writing concerning this Myſtery*.

THIS Conference was afterwards changed into one leſs public, at St. *Germain's en Laye*, between five Catholic Doctors and as many Calviniſt Miniſters. The Cardinal of *Lorrain* had invited the Lutherans of *Germany* to be preſent, with a view of expoſing to all *France* the diſagreement of the new Teachers, who, though they inſiſted on nothing more than the perſpicuity of the Scriptures, were for ever citing their authority in the attacks they made on each other, without coming to an agreement on any thing, but their ſeparation from the ancient faith of the Church. But the Germans did not arrive till theſe diſcuſſions were over; at the concluſion of which the Prelates made ſeveral regulations concerning Church Diſcipline.

THE diſcourſe by which *Laines* refuted *Beza* was ſo ſatisfactory, that it procured the ſettlement of his Order at *Paris*: for the Parliament having remitted the deciſion of this affair to the Prelates, who were met at *Poiſſi*, they determined it in favour of the Jeſuits, and approved of their Inſtitute, but only as a Society and College, not as a new Religious Order. They added, moreover,

* Non magis in cœnâ quàm in cœno.

over, this clauſe, " that the Members ſhould not take the name of the Society of Jeſus, or of Jeſuits; and that the Biſhop of the dioceſe ſhould have full power to ſuperintend and correct them, and even expel all refractory and irregular perſons. This is the tenor of the Act of their admiſſion, which is dated the 15th of *September*, before the 1561.
conſerences ended*.

* *Thuanus*, ad ann. 1561. *Mezeray.*

Ils approuverent leur compagnie, mais ſeulement en forme de ſociété et de College, et non de Religion novellement inſtituée; et auſſi à la charge que les membres de cette Société ſeroient tenus de prendre un autre nom que celui de Société de *Jeſus*, ou des Jeſuites; et que ſur icelle dite Société et College L'Evêque diocéſain auroit toute ſuperintendence, juriſdiction, et correction de chaſſer et d'ôter de la dite compagnie les forfaiteurs et malvivans.

End of the FIRST VOLUME.

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